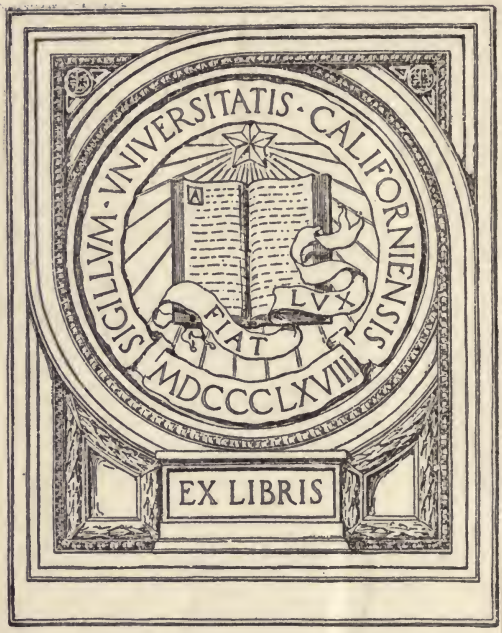

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Voyages of Drake & Gilbert

SELECT NARRATIVES FROM THE
'PRINCIPAL NAVIGATIONS' OF HAKLUYT

EDITED BY

EDWARD JOHN PAYNE

WITH ADDITIONAL NOTES, MAPS, ETC., BY

C. RAYMOND BEAZLEY

OXFORD
AT THE CLARENDON PRESS
1909

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HENRY FROWDE, M.A.
PUBLISHER TO THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD
LONDON, EDINBURGH, NEW YORK
TORONTO AND MELBOURNE

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NOTE

THE Introduction to this book is taken from the larger selection (*Voyages of the Elizabethan Seamen*: edited by E. J. Payne; with additional notes, &c., by C. Raymond Beazley: 1907), which contains the voyages of Hawkins, Frobisher, Drake, Gilbert, Amadas and Barlow, and Cavendish.

Emery Walker sc.

NORTH AMERICA; MODERN PLACE-NAMES

Emery Walker sc.

SOUTH AMERICA; MODERN PLACE-NAMES

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INTRODUCTION

Mr. Froude has happily characterized the 'Principal Navigations' of Hakluyt as 'the prose epic of the modern English nation.' This liberal estimate of Hakluyt's labours contrasts amusingly with an opinion once put forth by an eminent Professor of Modern History in the sister University. Professor Smyth accounted the 'Principal Navigations' nothing but 'an unwieldy and unsightly mass,' only likely to be burrowed into by a few speculative persons, bent upon tracing out 'the steps which lead to permanent alterations and improvements in the concerns of mankind.' Only the mere lover of old books will deny that Hakluyt's blackletter folios are both unwieldy and unsightly. But no one who knows them will consent to dismiss them as containing nothing but raw material for the use of the philosopher. They contain episodes which are integral parts of our national history—episodes to which the English reader cannot but recur again and again, with an emotion akin to that which a Greek may be supposed to have felt while listening to the exploits of the Homeric heroes. And no one who has experienced this

feeling will be disposed to quarrel with Mr. Froude for denominating Hakluyt our national prose epic.

Among the heroes of this epic one group undeniably stands forth with commanding prominence. Hakluyt's work is mainly the monument of the great English navigators and maritime adventurers of his own time, who overthrew the Spanish colossus that bestrode the ocean, established that naval supremacy on which after-ages reared the fabric of the British Empire, and prepared the way for the founders of the great Anglo-American nation. If the interest which men command with posterity depends on the importance of the services which they render to their country, on the breadth, the variety and the originality of their designs, as well as on the measure of success which attends them—on their patriotism and force of character, and on the wealth of dramatic incident embodied in their careers, few more interesting groups can be found in English history, or in any other. Conspicuous in its forefront stand the three famous navigators whose voyages are commemorated in the present volume. Hawkins, Frobisher, and Drake are always remembered among us as the three lieutenants of the admiral who repulsed the Spanish Armada. It is sometimes forgotten that they were the very men who by their assaults on the Spanish possessions in America had done most to provoke the Spanish invasion of England. The brilliancy of their exploits in the New World induced men like Gilbert, Raleigh, and Cavendish, scholars and gentlemen-adventurers, and soldiers rather than sailors, to take up the movement which the three seamen had started The principal figure in the group, in the eyes

of contemporaries, was undoubtedly Sir Walter Raleigh. Raleigh's fame rested rather on the magnificence of his projects than on the extent of his achievements. The dream of his life was to oust Spain from America, and thereby to make England the greatest power in the Christian world. History judges by results. Had Raleigh permanently colonized 'Virginia,' subjugated the caciques of Florida, made himself master of the riches of La Grand Copal, ransacked the Apalachian mountains of their fabled wealth in gold, crystal, rubies, and diamonds, and thence marched southwards to Mexico—had he then discovered the imaginary kingdom of El Dorado in Guiana and annexed it to the dominions of his sovereign, invaded New Granada from the Orinoco, marched to Quito and Cuzco, and permanently secured for England what Drake called the 'Treasure of the World,' he would have done something more than keep the place assigned to him among his contemporaries by contemporary opinion. He would have ranked as the greatest Englishman of his own or any other time. But his projects, one and all, ended in failure, and his fame stands eclipsed by that of the less imaginative adventurers whose successes inspired him.

Yet though Gilbert, Raleigh, and Cavendish are only secondary figures among the great Elizabethan maritime adventurers, history will always rank them with Hawkins, Frobisher, and Drake as a single group, because they all toiled in the same field and with the same object. To break the maritime power of the most formidable prince in Europe, and to throw open to the English people that New World which he arrogantly claimed as his own, was the end to which they devoted

their thoughts, their energies, and their fortunes. Amidst perils of every description, among the ice of the Arctic seas and the tornadoes and pestilences of the tropics, through battle and treachery worse than battle, one and all carried their lives in their hands, year after year, in pursuit of it. One and all laid their lives down for it. Gilbert, the first to drop off, perished with his Lilliputian bark while returning from the first English colonizing expedition. Cavendish, heart-broken at a failure which contrasted so painfully with his previous brilliant success, sickened and died between Brazil and England. The corpses of Hawkins and Drake sank in the West Indian seas amidst the thunder of funeral guns. Two only among them ended their lives on land. Frobisher crossed the Channel to die of a wound received in active service. Raleigh, the last survivor, was sacrificed to pamper the offended pride of Spain, and finished his career on the scaffold.

This general movement towards America on the part of the Elizabethan maritime adventurers was only indirectly connected with that general extension of maritime enterprise which accompanied the Renaissance, and of which the discovery of America was the principal fruit. When Elizabeth came to the throne, the great period of maritime discoveries, a period extending from the middle of the fourteenth century to the middle of the seventeenth, was already well advanced, and the main problems of geography had been solved. The map of the world, as we have it at this day, had been constructed by adventurers of other nations. The chief seat of the arts and sciences, in the Middle Ages, was Italy; and the improved geography which

appears as the Middle Ages close was mainly due to Italian energy and sagacity. In the palmiest days of the Papacy and of the Italian maritime republics, Italian monks and merchants penetrated the heart of Asia. Italian seamen passed the Pillars of Hercules, braved the unknown dangers of the stormy Atlantic, explored the desolate shores of Barbary, rediscovered the Fortunate Isles of the Ancients, and increased the Ptolemaic map of the world by the addition of the Madeiras and the Azores. The remote regions to which they had penetrated were beyond the scope of Italian political or mercantile interests. They thus fell under the sway of the maritime powers of the Spanish peninsula; and the exploration of the Atlantic was continued under the direction and at the expense of Portuguese and Castilian adventurers. It must not be supposed that the gradual exploration of the coast of Africa, which ultimately led to the passing of the Cape of Good Hope and the establishment of a connexion by sea between Lisbon and India, was exclusively the work of Portuguese seamen. The expeditions of the Spanish and Portuguese were to a very great extent made under Italian captains, with Italian crews, and in vessels built by Italian shipwrights. Italian mathematicians constructed the charts and instruments by which they sailed, and Italian bankers furnished funds for equipping them. A similar influence was at work in England: the Italian merchants of London and the Italian seamen of Bristol were the links between the great movement of maritime exploration and an insular people which at the eleventh hour began to profit by it. The Genoese were best known in Bristol,

though it was a Venetian who first conducted English sailors to the shores of America. The skill and science of Italy penetrated everywhere, allied themselves with the spirit of territorial conquest and commercial enterprise in other lands, and wrought out the exploration of the coasts of Africa, the crossing of the Atlantic before the trade wind, and the discovery of the New World. Columbus did but add the finishing stroke to a work on which his countrymen had been incessantly employed for two centuries. When this stroke had been made, the part of Italy was completed. Thirty years afterwards, the powers on the Atlantic seaboard began their long struggle for the substantial results of these discoveries. It is at a subsequent period in this stage of the history of oceanic enterprise, forty years after the struggle commenced, and seventy years after the Discovery itself, that England steps in.

It needs no deep research to account for this backwardness of England in the exploration and occupation of the New World. It is sufficient to observe that for half a century after the discovery of America there was little or nothing to induce Englishmen to attempt it. It required many years for the Spaniards themselves to discover the wealth of the New World: and it was not until the extent of this wealth had become known to other nations that the latter thought the New World to be seriously worth their notice. England was by no means a feeble power, nor were Englishmen backward to perceive the immense possibilities which the discovery involved. While the voyages of Columbus were as yet confined to the islands, and before the continental coast had been reached, English patentees, roused to

activity by these voyages, had been empowered by Henry the Seventh to occupy any lands in the Atlantic not hitherto known to Christian nations. These English patentees reached the continent of America before Columbus ever beheld it: and patents expressed in similar terms were freely granted to other adventurers. No regard was practically paid, either in England or in France, to the Pope's partition of the globe between Spain and Portugal. Had Frenchmen or Englishmen desired to settle in the New World, nothing could have prevented it. How then, it may be asked, happened it that French and English adventurers were backward in availing themselves of an opportunity apparently so magnificent? The answer is that it was not considered to be worth while. America, it is true, was known to produce the precious metals. But it was not until the discovery of Mexico and Peru that it was supposed to be particularly rich in them. This is significantly illustrated by the important document of early American history contained in the play or interlude of the 'Four Elements,' written shortly before the discovery of Mexico. In the speech of 'Experience' to 'Studious Desire' regret is expressed that Englishmen had not occupied America, converted its natives to Christianity, and availed themselves of its 'commodities.' This speech has a remarkable omission. The commodities include only fish, copper, and timber: there is no mention whatever of the precious metals.

The slight value likely to be set by Englishmen on the gold and silver mines of America during the earlier decades after the Discovery may be further illustrated from the contemporary Spanish historian Las Casas.

For thirty years the most esteemed possession of the Spaniards in America was the island of Española. In describing this island Las Casas takes great pains to demonstrate that it is not inferior in natural resources and general value to the most celebrated islands of the Old World; and he accordingly compares it in succession with England, Sicily, and Crete. We shall only cite that part of his argument which refers to England. He begins by showing to his own satisfaction that Española is larger than England, or at any rate not smaller: an opinion generally accepted among the Spaniards, and adopted in substance by the writers of two narratives in the present volume (pp. 39, 252), although that island in fact contains less than one-third of the area of Great Britain, and not half the area of England and Wales. No doubt, he says, England is fertile, for it possesses corn, and great forests and pastures; and it abounds in sheep, for the simple reason that there are no wolves. It also yields abundance of gold, silver, iron, and lead; it has pearls, and salt mines, and great rivers, and a climate more temperate than that of France. He then proceeds to show that in most of these respects Española is at least equal to it. He sets little store by the gold mines of Española; these, he thinks, only have the effect of diverting industry from more profitable channels. He admits that Española has neither silver, pearls, nor tin. 'But to set against the silver and pearls of England,' proceeds Las Casas, 'Española possesses forty or fifty sugar-mills, and there is ample room for two hundred.' 'These,' he triumphantly concludes, 'are more valuable, and more useful to the human race, than all the gold, and silver, and pearls of England!'

The discovery of Mexico revealed the fact that America was unusually rich in silver and gold. This discovery approximately coincided with the opening of that period of war between Spain and France which lasted with some intermissions from 1521 to 1556. In the first of those years Cortes entered the pueblo of Mexico. The two vessels which he despatched to Spain, laden with treasure, at the end of the year 1522, were captured shortly after leaving the Azores by the Florentine captain Giovanni da Verrazzano, who held a French commission. About the same time Verrazzano took a large Spanish vessel homeward-bound from St. Domingo, laden with treasure, pearls, sugar, and hides. These prizes made him a wealthy man. Out of his gains he was able to give splendid presents to the French King and High-Admiral: and general amazement was felt at the wealth which was pouring into Spain from its American possessions. 'The Emperor,' Francis exclaimed, 'can carry on the war with me by means of the riches he draws from the West Indies alone!' This expression, it will be remembered, included at this time only the four greater Antilles, and the parts of the continent between Guatemala and the Northern Sierra Madre of Mexico. Determined to have his share in the wealth of America, Francis was reported to have sent to Charles a message to the following effect:—'Your Majesty and the King of Portugal have divided the world between you, offering no part of it to me. Show me, I beseech you, the will of our father Adam, that I may judge whether he has really constituted you his universal heirs!'

In the next year, Francis despatched Verrazzano

on the famous voyage in which the shores of North America were for the first time explored from Florida to Newfoundland. His design was masked under the pretext of seeking the North-West Passage. The real object of the expedition was to lay the foundation for a claim to that tract of the New World which stretched northward from Mexico, in the belief that this tract, like Mexico itself, would be found to yield gold. Having accomplished this voyage, Verrazzano was again commissioned to plunder the homeward-bound Spanish shipping, and took some prizes between Spain and the Canaries. On his return he encountered a squadron of Spanish vessels of war. After a severe engagement, Verrazzano surrendered, and was hanged as a pirate at Colmenar de Arenas in November 1527.

The voyage of Verrazzano was considered by the French to confer upon them an absolute title to all North America, and to justify them in making settlements on its soil even in time of peace. They gave it the name of New France. So long as the wars lasted, piracy was pursued as the most profitable form of enterprise; in the intervals of peace preparations were made for colonization. Thus, between the peace of Cambray in 1529 and the renewal of the war in 1536 the coasts of Labrador and the gulf of St. Lawrence were explored by the celebrated corsair Jacques Cartier of St. Malo (1534, 1535). During the third war (1536–1538) these operations were suspended; but they were revived in the interval of peace which followed (1538–1542), and in 1540 Cartier made a third voyage, in which he sailed up the St. Lawrence, and chose a site for the subsequent colony under Roberval (1542). Roberval's colony

proved a failure; colonization was for the time abandoned, and maritime activity resumed the form of piracy. Meanwhile an event had happened which gave piracy a fresh impulse. This was the conquest of Peru, the richest district of the New World. A few years later another element began to exercise an important influence on the course of events. In France, England, and Holland the cause of Protestantism was steadily advancing. Though it does not appear to have been particularly rife in the maritime provinces of France, it is certain that when it was attempted to suppress it by persecution large numbers of Protestants joined the roving captains. Spain was notoriously the main support of the Catholic party throughout Europe: it was Charles the Fifth who had crushed the Protestants of Germany. Even in time of peace the French Protestant cruisers continued to harass the Spanish vessels; and they were imitated, later on, by those of Holland and England. Out of French piracy there grew a continuous maritime war, waged by the Protestants of Western Europe against the Spanish King as the champion of the Papacy, and the patron of the Inquisition: and the movement of other nations towards America, whether for the purpose of plunder or of settlement, came to be identified by the Spaniards, and not without reason, with the cause of heresy.

It was in the interval between the second and third Franco-Spanish wars that Peru was discovered. The treasure furnished by America to Spain was now trebled. One of the Spanish prizes taken by a French cruiser was so richly laden that the shares of the very

cabin boys amounted to 800 gold ducats! From plundering the Spanish vessels the French seamen now advanced to capturing the seaports and holding them to ransom. The capture of Havana in 1536 was a memorable example. A single French vessel had seized the town, exacted a ransom, and sailed homeward. Three Spanish ships arriving the next day, the governor of Havana despatched them in pursuit of the French cruiser. The Spanish flag-ship overtook the Frenchman, but hesitated to attack until the arrival of her consorts. The French pirates turned on their pursuers, captured all three ships, returned to Havana, and levied a double ransom.

Incidents such as this naturally suggest, as the fact was, that the Spaniards were no match for the French rovers in seamanship. Probably there was a corresponding inequality in the arts of shipbuilding and gunnery: and an inferiority on the part of the Spanish vessels for the purposes of attack and defence necessarily resulted from the situation. While these were selected or built with an eye to their capacity for carrying bulky cargoes, the French cruisers were light and easily handled, manœuvring quickly round the unwieldy hulls of the enemy, and inflicting damage which it was impossible to retaliate. Contemporary opinion assigned other reasons for the continued successes of the French corsairs. The principal one was the niggardliness of the Spanish shipowners in taking precautions for the protection of their vessels. The Royal Council of the Indies, a board established at Seville for the purpose of regulating the trade between Spain and its American possessions, had ordered that all vessels employed in

that trade should be provided with proper appliances of defence, and had prescribed a minimum of equipment for the purpose. Every ship was to carry at least two large pieces of brass ordnance, six iron guns, and a certain quantity of small arms. It is certain, none the less, that most of the Spanish vessels put to sea very imperfectly furnished. The haste with which the preparations for sailing often had to be completed was sometimes assigned as a reason. A more obvious one was unwillingness to encumber the vessels with an unprofitable tonnage of heavy guns, balls, and powder-cask, and to provide the costly complement of gunners and soldiers. For this reason especially, the regulation was so unpopular, that the Council found it necessary to appoint Commissaries charged with the duty of inspecting each vessel before it left the mouth of the Guadalquivir at San Lucar, and making sure that the requirements of the board had been obeyed. These officials were required to attend afterwards at Seville, and to swear their corporal oath in the presence of the Council, that no vessel had received their sailing permit without carrying its full equipment. But the Commissaries, it was said, could be readily induced to forswear themselves by the timely present of a few ducats. Hence it sometimes happened that three or four large vessels sailed for America having among them nothing better for the purposes of defence than a couple of rusty iron guns, a dozen or two of shot in the locker, and a single cask of half-spoiled powder.

Could it be wondered at, in such circumstances, that the harbours of Normandy and Brittany were full of captured Spanish barks, the captains and crews of

which, stripped of all but their ragged clothes, were forced to beg their way home to Spain, and that the plundering not merely of such petty towns as Puerto de Plata, Azua, Yaguana, and Maguana, in Española, but of Santa Martha, Cabo de Vela, Santiago de Cuba, Havana, and Carthagena themselves, were the staple topics of the garrulous French sailors? In connexion with the capture of the last-named places, strange stories were current of the malice and perfidy of the Spaniards. It was not difficult to induce Spanish sailors to act as pilots to the Frenchmen: and in this way the chart of the West Indian seas quickly became as familiar to the French as to the Spaniards themselves. Sometimes treachery assumed a more malign form. A Spanish sailor, guilty of some trivial offence, had been flogged at Carthagena. He shipped on board a French vessel, came back with a squadron of others, showed the Frenchmen where to land and make their assault, and revelled at length in the spectacle of Carthagena in flames. In 1554 a French cruiser plundered Santiago de Cuba, and entered the port of Havana. The Spaniards, profiting by the experience gained in previous raids, had removed and concealed most of their effects. Negotiations for the ransom were still pending when the Spaniards treacherously attacked the French by night, and killed four of them. The French commander avenged them by leaving Havana a heap of smoking ruins.

Some stories which have come down to us from these times suggest that the Spaniards were as inferior to the French in personal courage as they undoubtedly were in seamanship; certainly they falsify the braggard

proverb which asserted one Spaniard to be a match for four Germans, three Frenchmen, or two Italians. Two French rovers, after taking a carvel bound for Cabo de Vela, had boldly cast anchor off the island of Mona, half-way between Española and Puerto Rico, and a well-known Spanish dépôt. The authorities of St. Domingo despatched a fleet of five ships to capture them. One French captain deemed it prudent to run, and succeeded in making good his escape. The other vessel was taken, carried to St. Domingo, and condemned to be towed out to sea and burnt. The French sailors, loudly cursing the cowardice of their commander, were sent prisoners to Spain, for which purpose they were distributed among a squadron of homeward-bound vessels. Five, as it happened, were shipped on board a carvel laden with sugar and carrying 15,000 ducats in gold. While the Spaniards were dozing on their watch, these five desperadoes slipped their irons, attacked their captors, flung them overboard, and brought the carvel triumphantly into a French port.

It was natural for these stories to pass from France to England. But the losses inflicted by the French on the Spaniards, and the defenceless condition of the American ports, were not for Englishmen mere matters of hearsay. Friendly relations existed at this time between England and Spain. Many English merchants resided in the latter country, and with the full consent of the Spanish authorities they sometimes shipped for the New World, and resided there for years together. Two English residents in Spain, named Field and Thompson, while on their voyage to America, had a curious experience of the terror which

French piracy had struck into the Spaniards. They had taken passage on board a Spanish carvel, and were sailing as far as the Canaries some days in advance of the rest of the squadron, intending to take their pleasure in a leisurely fashion at those charming isles. On their arrival at the Grand Canary, the Spaniards received them with a volley of shot which carried away the main-mast. It turned out that the carvel, in which they were, bore a close resemblance to another which had recently been taken by a French man-of-war. The daring captors had emptied their prize, armed her with guns, coolly sailed back into the roadstead, boarded a vessel laden with sugar, and carried her off also. The carvel which carried Field and Thompson was supposed to be the identical vessel by which this shrewd trick had been played, and to be on the point of endeavouring to repeat it.

It was scarcely possible that this desperate game, with the Treasure of the World for a stake, should be played year after year between the Spaniards and French without some effect being produced on English opinion. Swayed as peoples commonly are, partly by commercial and dynastic connexions, partly by traditional jealousy of their nearest neighbours, and partly by some dim sense of right and wrong, it was natural for the English to side with Spain rather than with France. But whatever might be the rights of the case, there gradually grew among the English people a determination to secure some share for themselves in the Treasure of the World. The first evidences of any substantial interest being taken by Englishmen in the New World date from the end of the period of

wars between Spain and France. The last great step in the development of America had by this time been made; the Spaniards had discovered Peru and the mines of Potosi. The wealth of Peru gave the first effective stimulus to projects for securing a share in American enterprise to the English. Potosi was the most important factor in the process. The other factor was supplied by the exploits of the French rovers. These clearly indicated that the Spaniards were incapable of keeping other nations out of the New World. Nine-tenths of the continent were unexplored: the chances were that other Perus, perhaps other Potosis, still awaited the adventurer. Without Potosi and the French rovers there would doubtless have been in the course of time English projects for the occupation of America. But they would have been formed at a later time, under other circumstances, and by other men.

Too much importance must not be assigned to the ephemeral productions of the printing-press; but straws suffice to show which way the wind blows. Richard Eden's *New India*[1] was published in 1553 with the view of inducing Englishmen to 'make attempts in the New World to the glory of God and the commodity of our country.' America's wealth in the precious metals is held out as the one inducement. If Englishmen had been alive to their opportunities, says Eden, 'that Rich Treasury called PERULARIA[2] might long since have been

[1] 'A Treatise of the New India, &c. After the Description of Sebastian Munster in his Book of Universal Cosmography.' (Reprinted in Professor Arber's 'First Three English Books on America,' Birmingham, 1885.)

[2] The Bullion-Warehouse of Seville.

in the Tower of London.' This was eight years after the year in which the silver mines of Potosi were first registered in the books of the King of Spain (1545). It will be remembered that after the discovery of the mines of Potosi the silver mines of Europe were for the most part abandoned, because it was no longer profitable to work them. The same thing happened to the ancient silver mines of the New World itself. Until the discovery of the mines of Guanajuato in Mexico, two hundred years later, Potosi was the principal source of the silver supply of the world. Viewed in the light of these facts, the significance of Eden's suggestion is apparent; the train of reasoning seems to be something to the following effect. Forty years elapsed between the discovery of America and the discovery of the wealthy kingdom of Peru; and the main treasure of Peru, the mines of Potosi, unknown to the Indians, remained undiscovered for ten years longer. The probability is that the enormous continent of the New World, of which Mexico and Peru themselves are but comparatively small tracts, contains gold and silver in all its parts. The Spaniards are yearly drawing enormous quantities of both metals from their American possessions. It is impossible for Spain to do more than to exploit and to protect the districts she has already occupied. Let Englishmen, then, emulate the famous deeds of Cortes and Pizarro, and seek for gold and silver in those parts which the Spaniards have as yet left untouched.

When the *New India* was written, the question of the future matrimonial alliance of the sovereign, by which the fortunes of England, and the share to be

taken by her in American adventure, could scarcely fail to be largely influenced, still remained undecided. Had Edward VI lived, and had the intended marriage between him and Elizabeth of France been carried out, England's share in American enterprise would have been taken in a different way. The death of Edward and the succession of Mary had the effect of making England again the ally of Spain. On July 19, 1554, Philip of Spain arrived in England; and on the 25th he was married to Mary at Winchester. He brought with him twenty-seven chests, each forty inches long, filled with bullion, and ninety-nine horse-loads and two cart-loads of gold and silver. The contents of that Rich Treasury called Perularia were actually on their way to the Tower of London! This was only the beginning. The debased coinage of England was unworthy of a joint-monarch who was master of the Treasure of the World. On October 2, there arrived at the Tower of London £50,000 of silver in ninety-seven boxes; this substantial sum was destined to form the nucleus of Philip's 'English Treasury.' Richard Eden, the author of the *New India*, obtained the post of clerk in this new national institution. He had watched the entry of the king and queen into London; and on this occasion he had exercised his mind on the possible consequences of the match which had now been made. One thing appeared abundantly clear to him. The commercial bond which united them being now strengthened by a dynastic connexion, Spain and England must hence-forward proceed to exploit the New World hand in hand. It was not that the interests of the two nations in the Treasure of the World were to be fused.

England, stimulated by the example of Spain, must now take a new departure. Eden resolved to translate into English the *Decades* of Peter Martyr, which contained the story of the Discovery of the New World down to the conquest of Mexico. In the next year (1555) his book appeared. So anxious, it would seem, was he to publish it, that it contained only the first three of Peter Martyr's eight Decades. The rest of the volume was filled with other matter of a similar description: and in the preface Eden unburdens his soul of the ideas with which the entry of Philip and Mary into London had inspired him[1].

Until 1492, says Eden, God suffered the great sea-serpent Leviathan to have dominion in the ocean, and to cast mists in the eyes of men, which hid from them the passage to the Newfoundland. How great a change has been wrought in sixty years! The 'heroical facts' of the Spaniards in the New World far exceed those of great Alexander and the Romans. They have delivered the Indians from the bondage of Satan, and taught them true religion and the arts of life. They have showed a good example to all Christian nations to follow. God is great and wonderful in his works: and besides the portions of land pertaining to the Spaniards and Portugals, *there yet remaineth another portion of that mainland, reaching toward the north-east, thought to be as large as the other, and not yet known but only by the sea coasts, neither inhabited by Christian men. . . . These regions are called* TERRA FLORIDA *and* REGIO BACCALEARUM *or*

[1] 'The Decades of the New World or West India. Translated into English by Richard Eden.' (Reprinted in Professor Arber's 'First Three English Books on America.')

Bacchallaos. In neglecting them the English have no respect either for the cause of God or their own commodity, and are guilty of inexcusable slothfulness and negligence before God and the world. They should cease ever like sheep to haunt one trade, and attempt some voyages unto these coasts, to do for our parts as the Spaniards have done for theirs. Eden believes verily that if we would take the matter in hand accordingly, God would not forget to aid us with miracles, if it should be so requisite, and concludes with an eulogium on Willoughby and Chancellor, who had attempted by the north seas to discover the mighty and rich empire of Cathay.

Practically the suggestion of Eden amounts to this; let Englishmen avail themselves of the position of the future Spanish King as joint-sovereign of England, and of his presence in their midst, to obtain licences to explore and settle those parts of the New World which are not already occupied by the Spaniards. However acceptable this idea might be to the nation at large, it could scarcely commend itself to the sovereigns. Mary was a mere puppet in the hands of the husband whom she idolized. Philip, the prospective king of Spain, regarded England as a province which through his recent marriage would probably accrue to the Spanish crown. Such conditions afforded little countenance to the pretensions which Eden advances. A merely titular king of England, whose rights would cease upon the death of his queen without issue, could scarcely be expected to invite Englishmen to share in the inheritance of the New World. Every politician in Europe knew the practical advantage which the possession of America

conferred on the Spanish monarch. Again and again do the current ideas on the subject find pointed expression in contemporary memoirs. It was by means of the treasure of America, says one writer, that Charles the Fifth wrested Italy from France, and took the French king prisoner; sacked Rome, and took the Pope prisoner; overthrew the Duke of Cleves, the Elector of Saxony, and the Landgrave of Hesse. The means by which this treasure was distributed had obtained among diplomatists the nickname of the Burgundian Ass. Laden with gold from the Rich Treasury called Perularia, this indefatigable animal silently insinuated itself everywhere, the messenger either of war or of peace, as its owner might choose. Truly had Peter Martyr prophesied to Charles that the Indies were a weapon wherewith he should reduce the whole world to obedience!

Another important consideration must have weighed strongly with Philip, if application had ever been made to him to grant charters for English enterprise in the New World. In the great religious struggle which was convulsing Europe a considerable minority of Englishmen were on the wrong side. To concede to the English a footing in America might have the effect of making its virgin soil the seed-plot of heresy. This highly undesirable result was in fact the confessed aim of the Huguenot leaders. The French corsairs who had for thirty years been plundering the treasure ships of Spain were mostly Protestants, and from piracy they were already advancing to territorial occupation. Foreseeing the possibility of their being one day driven from Europe, they intended to establish themselves in

the New World. In 1555 Coligny actually despatched a number of French Protestants to Brazil with the avowed purpose of providing a refuge for the adherents of the reformed religion in case of their being finally worsted in the struggle against the Catholics. The Expedition of the Indonauts, as it was called by a Protestant pedant, who celebrated its departure in an indifferent Greek poem, was understood to mark an epoch in the world's history. God looked down from heaven, he says, and saw that the corrupt Christians of Europe had utterly forgotten both Himself and His Son. He therefore determined to transfer the mysteries of Christianity to a New World, and to give the wicked Old World over to destruction. The colony of the Indonauts proved a signal failure. Seven years later a similar attempt was made in North America. In 1562, eight months before Hawkins sailed from Plymouth on his first slaving voyage, Jean Ribault sailed from the Havre in charge of another body of Huguenots, bound for the land called by Eden 'Terra Florida.' Meanwhile Mary had died, and Elizabeth had succeeded to the throne.

The Anglo-Spanish connexion left on the New World but a single temporary trace. In 1555 Pedro de Zurita, governor of Tucuman, established a settlement in one of the valleys of the Argentine Andes, and gave it the name of Londres or London, in honour of the union of Philip with the Queen of England. It was the first community in America named after an English city. New London was of short duration: the colonists were driven out by the Indians, and compelled to choose another site. We are reminded by Eden that the

reign of Mary had seen a remarkable maritime project brought to an unsuccessful trial. This project had aimed at the discovery of a North-eastern passage to China and India, corresponding to the South-eastern passage round the Cape of Good Hope. Sir Hugh Willoughby had sailed with three vessels, shortly before the death of Edward VI, with the object of exploring this route. He was compelled by the sudden approach of winter to lay up his ships in a harbour of Russian Lapland, where he and the crews of two of the ships were frozen to death. Richard Chancellor, in the third vessel, succeeded in reaching the White Sea, landed near Archangel, and returned by way of Moscow. The search for the North-eastern passage was pursued no further; speculative merchants and navigators turned to the more hopeful project of finding the North-west passage. This project, which Frobisher sailed with the object of executing, carried with it an additional inducement. It involved the exploration of the district called by Eden 'Baccalaos,' including the island of Newfoundland and generally those parts of the New World which adjoined Florida on the north. When the passage had been found, it was confidently anticipated that the Pacific shores of the New World, further to the southward, would afford facilities and inducements to colonization similar to those which were offered by Florida itself.

Such were the ideas prevalent in England regarding the New World and maritime enterprise generally when Elizabeth succeeded to the throne in 1558. Englishmen eager to make their way to Cathay by the North-west passage, and determined to have their share, in some way or other, in the occupation of America;

Spain proved to be feeble at sea, and unable to resist the attempt; France in a position very similar to that of England, and possessing some actual experience in colonization, though the colonies in Canada and Brazil had proved failures. The accession of a new sovereign to the throne of England might well stimulate the French to engage at once in the colonization of Florida. It is certain that Elizabeth was credited by the French with a desire to signalize her reign by establishing colonies in this district: the expedition of Ribault in 1562 was perhaps hastened with the object of forestalling her. Opinion with regard to the colonization of North America, it should be remembered, was already divided into two opposite schools, the Northern and the Southern. The former was the older of the two, for it dates from before the discovery of either Mexico or Peru. The play-writer of the reign of Henry VIII, already quoted, belonged to the northern school because the southern school had not come into existence. The wealth derivable from the New World, he thinks, consists of the produce of its fisheries, long known to all Western Europe, and of the pitch, tar, and soap ashes which might be made out of its forests. The south of America he considers chiefly noteworthy as a place where men go naked on account of the great heat. The northern school proposed to start from the well-known fishing-grounds of Newfoundland as a basis, and to settle the adjacent districts of the continent. This was the scheme already initiated by Cartier, and afterwards adopted (1583) by the English adventurer Sir Humphry Gilbert, who, after being a partisan of the southern route, like most of his contemporaries, had

finally decided in favour of the northern just before sailing. The reason for this change was the proximity of the fishing-grounds, and the number of the shipping which frequented them; the fish and the surplus stores of the 'Newlanders,' he thought, would insure his colonists against famine. Delighted with the aspect of Newfoundland, Gilbert avowed 'that this voyage had won his heart from the south, and that he was now become a northern man altogether.' In the next year (1584) he proposed to equip two separate expeditions, a northern one for Newfoundland, and a southern one for Florida. Another adventurer, who figures in the last narrative in the present volume, proposed to solve the difficulty arising from the divided field of enterprise in another way. In the year of Gilbert's expedition, some merchants of Bristol were meditating an independent colonizing expedition, the command of which was offered to Christopher Carlile (p. 233). Carlile wrote a prospectus to commend the project to the merchants of London. A hundred colonists were to be conveyed to the New World, and settled in the latitude of 40°, or that of Philadelphia. In this way he proposed to collect the commodities of all North America at one central point, uniting the advantages of North and South. Carlile was anticipating the founder of Pennsylvania.

The southern school proposed to plant colonies in the regions immediately northward and eastward of the Gulf of Mexico, that is, in Florida; a district of which great expectations had been entertained ever since its discovery by Ponce de Leon on Easter Day (Pascua Florida), 1512. This part of the New World, it might perhaps be supposed, had been neglected by

the Spaniards. Such was by no means the case. Even before the conquest of Peru an attempt had been made to conquer Florida. Pamphilo de Narvaez, best known to fame by his inglorious mission to compel the return of Cortes from Mexico, had landed in the country with the object of emulating the successes of the last-named adventurer (1528). Driven back to the sea, Narvaez perished in a storm, and of the 300 men who accompanied him five only returned to Mexico. They brought back the tantalizing intelligence that Florida was 'the richest country in the world.' This idle exaggeration had a slender basis of fact; for the Apalachian mountains, further to the north, contained mines both of gold and silver, which are worked to this day.

After the conquest of Peru the idea of annexing Florida to the dominions of Spain was revived: and the task was undertaken by Ferdinand de Soto, who had been one of Pizarro's lieutenants, on becoming Governor of Cuba in 1538. De Soto's unfortunate expedition in search of the North American Peru (1539) is one of the best known episodes in American history. During more than four years the Spaniards made their way through a territory sparsely peopled by Indians, marching first north-eastwards to the boundary of South Carolina, then successively westwards to the Apalachian mountains, southwards through Alabama to Mobile, and north-westwards to the Mississippi. In descending its valley the commander sickened and died, and his body was committed to its waters. During the whole exploration no community was reached of more importance than an Indian village, and not a single mine of gold or silver was discovered. The remnant of the party sailed from

the mouth of the river to Panuco in Mexico, bringing with them the story of a failure more lamentable than that of Narvaez. Even the missionaries, so successful everywhere else in reducing the Indians to submission, failed to gain any footing in Florida. In 1549 some Dominican friars, who had landed with the object of converting the Indians, were massacred. This incident, the most recent in connexion with the Peru of the north, was prominent in Eden's volume of 'Decades,' whence the chronicler of the second voyage of Hawkins transferred it to his own narrative (page 54). As is remarked by Hayes, the chronicler of Gilbert's expedition to Newfoundland, it seemed as if God had prescribed limits to the Spaniards which they might not exceed. Florida was evidently reserved by the decree of Providence for some other nation: and that nation must obviously be either the French or the English.

The expedition of De Soto had one important effect. It narrowed the field of future operations in the direction of the south. The new Peru must be looked for to the northward of the ground covered by De Soto's fruitless march. It also showed that the mineral treasures of Florida lay at some considerable distance in the interior of the country. No merely military expedition, it seemed, would suffice to secure them. The experience of the Spaniards elsewhere had proved colonization, or in the phrase of the day 'plantation,' to be the necessary preliminary of conquest. It was a colonist of Cuba who had discovered and conquered Mexico; colonists of Panama had discovered and conquered Peru. The treasures of Florida were to be reached by planting colonies on its coast, by winning

the confidence of the Indians, and by gradually extending explorations towards the interior. The task to be accomplished was evidently more difficult than those which confronted Cortes and Pizarro. The conqueror of Florida must profit by the example of those fortunate adventurers. Long settled in the Spanish West Indian colonies, they had become adepts in the difficult art of dealing with the aborigines; were able to pick up information, to organize enquiries, and to act in the right direction with all the force they commanded. By this policy the distant mountains where the mines of gold and silver were understood to be situated would in time be reached. Such were the ideas current when the first body of French colonists, brought over by the Huguenot sailor Jean Ribault, landed in Florida in the year of the first voyage of Hawkins (1562).

The first French colony in Florida was of short duration. Despairing of Ribault's return, the colonists in the following summer (1563) built a pinnace and sailed for Europe. After suffering terrible hardships, they were picked up by an English vessel. Some were landed in France; those who were not too exhausted to continue the voyage were taken on to England. The object of doing so was understood to be that Elizabeth was minded to send an expedition on her own account to Florida. Whether this were true or not, it is certain that Florida was at that time an object of universal interest in England. The name, indeed, had become a proverb. Wits travestied it into 'Stolida,' or land of fools, and 'Sordida,' or land of muck-worms. Pirates concealed their intentions by professing to be bound for Florida. When in the next year (1564)

Hawkins made his second voyage to the West Indies, the Queen lent one of her great ships, and some of her principal councillors had shares in the venture (pp. 2, 3). Several Frenchmen sailed with Hawkins (p. 17), of whom one at least was a returned emigrant from Florida. Putting these facts together, it is difficult to resist the conclusion that it was intended from the first to make a reconnaissance of its coasts. In the spring of the same year (1564) a second body of French emigrants, headed by Laudonnière, had sailed for the same destination, and had established themselves on the 'River of May.' The character of Laudonnière's 'colonists,' most of whom had been pirates, is well illustrated by Sparke's graphic account (p. 58). Many joined an Indian chief and followed him to war with neighbouring tribes, probably in hope of plunder. Eighty of them mutinied, seized two vessels and a quantity of provisions, and recommenced their old trade in Española and Jamaica, keeping harbour in the latter island, and 'spoiling and pilling' the Spaniards, until the authorities of St. Domingo took measures to stop their depredations. Twenty-five escaped and returned to the River of May. Laudonnière condemned the four ringleaders to 'pass the arquebusers,' or, in other words, to be shot, and then gibbeted them.

The author of the narrative would have us believe that the visit of Hawkins to the shores of Florida was an accident due to an unexpected westward drift of the current in the Caribbean Sea: and such was evidently the view promulgated by Hawkins himself, who was a master, as his negotiations with the Spaniards abundantly prove, in the art of inventing ingenious pre-

texts. Those who read between the lines will probably conclude that the visit to Florida was meditated from the beginning. However this may be, Laudonnière certainly regarded his visitors, welcome though they were, as the precursors of future rivals. He had collected a considerable store of silver from the Indians; but he so arranged his transactions with the English captain that none of the precious metal should pass between them, lest the sight of it should tempt Elizabeth to carry out her intention of colonizing Florida. The English sailors manifested no little curiosity on the great question whether the country would prove to be a second Peru. The Indians, at the arrival of the French, possessed abundance of gold and silver, and readily parted with them. No mines whatever could be heard of in the neighbourhood of Laudonnière's settlement. Little doubt, nevertheless, was felt that in the end mines would be found, for the country was known to form one continuous mainland with the rich district of Mexico (p. 63).

In the next year (1565) the Spaniards, under Pedro Melendez de Avila (p. 268), destroyed the French colony, and built the town and fort of St. Augustine to protect the hidden treasures of the Apalachian hills, and to prevent future encroachments on American soil by heretics. St. Bartholomew's day, 1572, put an end to the Huguenot designs upon Florida. When English projects for colonization were revived after Drake's return from his famous voyage, a site was chosen further to the northward, within the limits of the State of North Carolina. This was the original 'Virginia,' explored under the direction of Raleigh by Amadas and

Barlow in 1584, and colonized by Lane in 1585. Drake, when returning from his great expedition of that year, visited the shores of Florida, destroyed the fort of St. Augustine, and brought back the colonists whom Lane had left in 'Virginia.' Drake also brought to England from St. Augustine a Frenchman and a Spaniard, both of whom had resided there six years. The old interest in Florida revived in Hakluyt's breast, and he hastened to interview them. It might perhaps be supposed that the apostle of colonization would question them as to the commodities of the country, the prospects of corn-growing and cattle-breeding, the districts best adapted for planting the vine and olive, and the most suitable situations for settlements, in the event of the country being occupied by Englishmen. Nothing of the sort seems to have occurred to Hakluyt. He simply asked whether anything more was known about the mines. From Pedro Morales, the Spaniard, he learned that the Spaniards expected to find the mountains of Apalachi, where there was abundance of gold and crystal, somewhere to the north-westward of the St. Helena river. Morales had himself seen a superb diamond, said to have been brought from these mountains. Near them was the city called La Grand Copal, believed by the Spaniards to be wealthy and exceeding great. None of them had entered it, though some had seen it in the distance. The French fifer, Nicolas Borgoignon (p. 266), told substantially the same story. The Apalachian mountains were rich in crystal, gold, rubies, and diamonds. To make passage unto these mountains, it was needful to have store of hatchets to give to the Indians; pick-axes must also be taken, to break the

mountains, which shone so brightly in the day-time, that men might not behold them, and therefore travelled thither by night. Both Morales and Borgoignon bore witness to the general desire on the part of the Spaniards in Florida to explore in this direction. Applications, they said, were sometimes made to Philip for licence to do so, but were always refused, 'for fear lest the English or French would enter into the same action, once known.'

The predominance of the gold and silver of the New World in all conceptions relating to its occupation by Englishmen is curiously illustrated by the story of Frobisher's North-West project. His first voyage resulted in the discovery of an inlet which had some appearance of being the long-talked-of North-West passage; in the third, he drifted into Hudson's Strait, to which this probability attached in a higher degree. Neither of them was seriously explored. No sooner was it ascertained that gold and silver were to be had than the pretence of discovery was entirely dropped, and the project became a mere mining adventure; and when it appeared that its result in this aspect was a complete failure, Frobisher's scheme was summarily abandoned.

Of the various methods by which Englishmen sought to take their share in the treasure of the New World that of Drake must be admitted to have been the most practical. Drake claimed to have suffered certain wrongs in the course of a commerce which according to Spanish practice was illicit, though according to the English interpretation of commercial treaties perfectly lawful. The first of these injuries had been committed at

Rio de la Hacha, in 1565–6, when he was there with another captain named John Lovell. The second had resulted from the attack made on the squadron of Hawkins by the Spanish Viceroy in the port of San Juan de Ulua in 1568 (p. 77). These injuries, in the latter of which Elizabeth had shared, were deemed to justify unlimited reprisals on the goods of Spaniards generally, the royal treasure of course not excepted. Drake did the cause of English colonization an inestimable service. He finally proved the inability of the Spaniards to keep other nations out of the New World. The destruction of the French settlement in Florida had thrown English plans for colonization into abeyance. The immediate effect of the Famous Voyage was to revive them. Drake had discovered an immense district on the Pacific shore, every part of which gave promise of gold and silver (pp. 218, 219), taken possession of it on Elizabeth's behalf, and given it the name of New Albion. California, for this it was, was exactly the sort of country which the elder Hakluyt's instructions, drawn up for the guidance of Frobisher (see page 84), directed the explorer to look out for when the North-West passage had been traversed, and he was coasting the Pacific shore on his way to Cathay. No wonder that the search for the passage was renewed by John Davis in 1585, 1586, and 1587. Gilbert had meanwhile been exploring Newfoundland: Raleigh's captains had made their first voyage to 'Virginia' (1584). When Drake returned from his great expedition of 1585, destroying the fort of St. Augustine on his way, the last vestige

of doubt as to the weakness of Spain on the American coast was removed.

It remains to add a few words as to the narratives before us. It has been often regretted that the great seamen who conducted these voyages did not hand them down to posterity in memoirs composed by themselves. Contemporaries felt this especially in the case of the two circumnavigators of the globe, Drake and Cavendish. Hugh Holland, amongst his commendatory rhymes on that most delightful of tourists, Thomas Coryat, hints as much in these whimsical couplets:—

> 'What do you tell me of your Drakes and Candishes?
> We never were beholding to *their* standishes!
> This man hath manners seen, and men, outlandish,
> And WRIT the same. So did not Drake, nor Candish.'

Drake, who was an able speaker, a competent master of written prose, and no mean adept in that pleasing species of verse which lies on the border between poetry and doggrel, was quite capable of becoming the chronicler of his magnificent exploits. Nor was he by any means indifferent to his fame. A few years before his death he set about collecting memoirs of his voyages with the intention of editing them. Apparently he was dissatisfied with the figure which he makes in Hakluyt's first folio, then recently issued; for the first and only narrative which he actually prepared for the press was an account of his third voyage to the Spanish main, made with the *Pacha* and *Swan* in 1572–3 (see p. 193), which is represented in Hakluyt only by a meagre and inaccurate note from a foreign source. The substance of the narrative had been compiled by one Philip Nichols, Preacher, from information furnished by

gentlemen engaged in the expedition. Drake revised it, made some additions, and prefixed a Dedicatory Epistle to the Queen (Jan. 1, 1592). This ingenious composition consists of a single sentence, which fills two middling-sized quarto pages, contains over three hundred words, and runs fourteen feet in length of type. Yet it has nothing wordy or pompous about it. Studiously modest and graceful, it is a fair specimen of the extinct art of enwreathing many phrases into an immense period: sentences of larger compass are to be found in the prose of Milton. The work was published thirty years after Drake's death[1]. Those parts of the narrative in which Drake's hand is traceable, excellent as they are, scarcely justify the suggestion that a complete account of the Famous Voyage from his pen would probably have rivalled the masterpieces of Xenophon and Caesar.

Hawkins is not only one of the great leaders of English enterprise, but an author. His account of the Third Voyage was manifestly penned in response to a demand for some authoritative statement of the circumstances in which this expedition came to its disastrous end. The narrative in question, though straightforward and business-like, as befitted a responsible official like the Treasurer of the Navy, is somewhat jejune, and is largely made up from the narrative of Philips, already in Hakluyt's possession.

Frobisher belonged to the class of gentlemen whose education has been neglected. Sent to sea at an early age, he had few opportunities of practising literary

[1] 'Sir Francis Drake Revived. Calling upon this Dull or Effeminate Age to follow his Noble Steps for Gold and Silver.' (1626.)

composition. His extant letters are for the most part ill spelt and worse expressed; that which he indited in Meta Incognita to the five English captives (p. 122) contrasts so favourably with his general style that we might suppose it to have been written for him by some one else, but for the fact that Best, not without a polite sneer at the homeliness of the language, expressly attributes the authorship to Frobisher. Best was a careful and conscientious writer, if not a brilliant one: and to him, among the authors of the narratives in the present volume, the palm of general merit undoubtedly belongs. Best, a gentleman who had been in the service of Sir Christopher Hatton, had received the ordinary grammar-school education of the time, and his syntax often runs in a Latin rather than an English mould. If Best has a fault, it is that he takes the expeditions in which he served, and all that belongs to them, including himself, somewhat too seriously. Feeling sure that they cannot but largely redound to the everlasting renown of the nation (p. 145), he displays a harmless pride in dwelling on his own share in them, and never forgets that he was one of the council of five captains who were summoned from time to time by Frobisher to assist him with their advice. He is careful to state what happened to vessels which lost the company of the others, as for instance in his account of the adventures of the *Gabriel* (p. 160); this is by way of introducing that portion of his narrative which describes the adventures of his own vessel and her two consorts before they regained the rest of the fleet (p. 165). His reasoning in favour of continuing the search for the other ships, instead of sailing

homeward, as the 'fearfuller sort of mariners' inclined to do, is set out at needless length (p. 167); his discovery of ore on the island which he named 'Best's Blessing,' and perilous voyage up the straits in the cranky pinnace wanting the knees (p. 173), until the English flag was descried in the distance, his regaining his general, and final return in triumph to his own vessel, are all described with similar minuteness. Best devotes special attention to topography and ethnology; the description of Meta Incognita and its inhabitants, which concludes his last narrative, is among the most interesting things in the volume. His account of the struggles of the fleet with the ice and storm (pp. 143–147) is a striking and truthful picture of the perils of the Arctic Seas, and the whole forms a splendid story of English pluck and endurance. Best was killed in a duel in 1584.

The general reader will probably find the narratives of Best inferior in interest to that of the second voyage of Hawkins by John Sparke. This is due not altogether to the picturesqueness and ease with which the story is told, but very much to the wide area which it covers and the great variety of geographical and ethnological matter which it embraces. The negroes of Africa, the Caribs of the West Indies, the Redskins of Florida, with their physical features, arms, food-provision, manners and customs, are all described by Sparke with that freshness and vivacity which comes of first acquaintance with strange worlds. Sparke takes great interest in animals: witness his descriptions of the camel, the young of which, he notes, is used for food (p. 13), the alligator (p. 43), and the turtle, the flesh of

which, however, he compares to nothing more savoury than veal (p. 50), the bonito and flying-fish, flamingo, and pelican (pp. 65, 66). He was especially struck by the snakes of Florida, cooked and eaten by the French, ever surpassing the English in gastronomy, if in nothing else, and by its oysters, which the Indians roasted in the shells, reckless of the pearls which they spoiled in the process. One piece of argument which Sparke introduces is truly amusing. Having ascertained that Florida possesses unicorns, he is led to conclude that it probably abounds in lions. The reason is because 'every beast hath his enemy.' Thus the wolf is the natural enemy of the sheep, the polecat of the rabbit, the rhinoceros of the elephant. So is it with the lion and the unicorn; and where the one is, as in Florida, the other will probably be found there also.

Compared with Best and Sparke the two narratives of Drake's voyages are somewhat disappointing. It may be said, on the other hand, that if the Famous Voyage and the Great Armada had been treated in the style of Best, each would have required a volume to itself. Pretty's narrative of the Famous Voyage is good as far as it goes, but there is too little of it. Many facts necessary to a distinct conception of the expedition are omitted altogether. The writer who constructed on the outlines of Pretty's narrative the work known as the 'World Encompassed[1],' which is four times as long, and contains little further information of real value, rushed into the other extreme. Fortunately that

[1] 'The World Encompassed by Sir Francis Drake. Carefully collected out of the notes of Master Francis Fletcher, Preacher in this Employment, and divers others his Followers.' (1628).

part which describes Drake's abode on the Californian coast is worked out with singular care and fulness. This earliest known description of the Indians of the North Pacific shore is of the deepest interest, especially when we reflect that the scene of Drake's sojourn was possibly the bay of San Francisco, which in some old maps, as in that prefixed to Burke's 'Account of European Settlements in America,' bears the name of 'Port of Sir Francis Drake.' Another interesting point is that in this voyage Englishmen first beheld the Cape of Good Hope, and pronounced it 'the fairest cape in the whole circumference of the earth' (p. 229).

The narrative of Biggs was cut short in the middle by the death of the writer and completed by another hand. He possessed a certain power of description, but even had he finished his narrative it could scarcely have stood as an adequate account of the important expedition it commemorates. Something of this kind probably passed through Hakluyt's mind when he inserted the 'Resolution of the Land Captains,' which is perhaps from the pen of Carlile.

While the narratives of Best give a fair idea of the methods of peaceful seamanship, neither Pretty nor Biggs furnishes anything like an adequate description of a sea-fight. By way of supplying this defect we append a lively sketch extracted from a work written some years later (1626)—the 'Accidence for Young Seamen' of the celebrated Virginian hero Captain John Smith, as improved in the subsequent edition called the 'Seaman's Grammar.' The details do not differ materially from the practice in the time of Drake.

The voyages of the adventurer Cavendish possess no such political importance as, for example, those of

Drake in 1577-80 or in 1585-6: they rather fall under Raleigh's classification—'journeys of picory for the pillage of ordinary prizes.' Cavendish's hard, jealous, and suspicious character is illustrated by the torture incident (see p. 363), and by the firing on the Ladrone natives (see p. 384). Yet the Second English Circumnavigation had considerable moral effect: its 'admirable prosperity' stimulated in a marked degree the expansion of Elizabeth's latter years and of the earliest Stuart time. Cavendish's return in 1588 embodied, in one gorgeous picture, the spirit and achievements of England's New Oceanic Age.

Gilbert's occupation of Newfoundland was intended as the first step in a scheme drawn up by himself for expelling the Spaniards from America and transferring it to the English crown. This bold project was formed and proposed for the Queen's adoption, as a defensive measure, at a critical juncture. In the latter part of 1577 Don John of Austria, Regent of the Netherlands, who had formed a wild scheme for invading England, marrying Mary Stuart, deposing Elizabeth, and restoring the Pope's authority, forced the States of the Netherlands to recommence hostilities. The States were compelled to seek foreign support, and in default of obtaining it from England, would certainly have had recourse to France. To prevent this Elizabeth was compelled to come to an agreement with them, and to support them openly with men and money. In view of an impending war with Philip, Englishmen were already meditating on the best means of striking at the power of Spain; and Gilbert's project was propounded for the Queen's consideration two months before she concluded her treaty with the States.

The original draft, dated November 6, 1577, and now preserved in the Public Record Office, has been signed by Gilbert, though the signature has been incompletely defaced, probably by his own hand; and there are some indications in the preface that it was intended to be anonymous. Some have supposed it to have been really the work of Raleigh. This suggestion is contradicted by internal evidence, and we believe Gilbert to have been the author of it. Though he modestly describes himself as 'a silly (simple) member of the commonweal of England' he was then a distinguished soldier, and held the office of General Surveyor of all horses, armour, weapons, munitions, and artillery throughout England. Probably the scheme embodied ideas more or less widely entertained at the time among English military men, and Gilbert did little more than reduce these ideas to a definite form.

'It is more than time,' Gilbert writes, apparently alluding to France as well as Spain, 'to pare their nails by the stumps that are most ready prest to pluck the crown, as it were in despite of God, from your Highness' head, not only by foreign force but also by stirring up home factions.' The chief means to this end, he says, is the weakening of their navies; and this can be effected not only by open hostilities but by 'colourable means.' What these are is set forth at some length. Licence should be granted, under letters patent, 'to discover and inhabit some strange place, with special provisoes for their safeties whom policy requireth to have most annoyed, by which means the doing of the contrary shall be imputed to the executors' fault.' The writer then proceeds in greater detail:—

'To set forth, under such like colour of discovery, certain ships of war to the N(ew). L(and)., which with your good licence I will undertake without your Majesty's charge. In which place they shall certainly once in the year meet in effect all the great shipping of France, Spain, and Portugal; where I would have them take and bring away, with their freights and ladings, the best of those ships, and to burn the worst; and those that they take to carry into Holland or Zeland, or as pirates to shroud themselves for a small time upon your Majesty's coasts, under the friendship of some certain Vice-admiral of this realm, who may be afterwards committed to prison, as in displeasure for the same, against whose returns six months' provision of bread, and four of drink, to be laid in some apt place, together with munition to serve for the number of 5,000 or 6,000 men; which men, with certain other ships of war being in a readiness, shall pretend to inhabit St. Lawrence island, the late discovered countries in the north, or elsewhere, and not to join with the others but in some certain remote place at sea.

'The setting forth of shipping for this service will amount to no great matter, and the return shall certainly be with great gain. For the N(ew-land). F(ish). is a principal, and rich, and everywhere vendible merchandise; and by the gain thereof shipping, victual, munition, and the transporting of 5,000 or 6,000 soldiers may be defrayed.'

The fleet of war-ships and the five or six thousand men thus equipped were to be employed in the conquest of the West Indies. Proper positions were to be seized in the islands of Cuba and St. Domingo, and military

colonies to be established in each as bases for greater operations. An essential feature of the scheme was the plunder of homeward-bound Spanish vessels, whose course lay along the shore of Florida. The resources of the West Indian islands, as Gilbert points out, were sufficient to render the intended colonies there self-supporting. The possession of the entire Newfoundland fishery would supply another and a not less important base for operations. Newfoundland lay nearer to England, and would be of material use in securing for England the North-west passage by way of the lands recently reached by Frobisher, who had just returned from his second voyage. While Gilbert's project was under discussion at the Queen's council table the London assayers were disputing over the ore Frobisher had brought back; and one effect of his voyages had been to draw increased attention to Newfoundland, which was regarded as belonging to England, though territorial possession had never been taken, and the fishery had always been open to the vessels of other nations.

Before Frobisher's discovery of the supposed mineral wealth of Meta Incognita in 1576 English fishermen had formed but a small fraction of the total number of 'Newlanders.' Hakluyt, wishing to prove that Englishmen had not altogether neglected the shores claimed by England in virtue of Cabot's discovery, cites no better evidence than an Act of Parliament passed in 1548 to protect fishermen going to Iceland and Newfoundland from the exactions of Admiralty officials. Perhaps these exactions had something to do with the slackness of Englishmen to take advantage of the Newfoundland fisheries. In 1574, two years before Frobisher sailed,

not more than thirty English vessels frequented the Newfoundland waters; in 1578 the number had increased to fifty.

The English Newlanders were still far outnumbered by the French and Spanish, and formed only one-seventh of the whole fleet[1]. The reason assigned for this disproportion is that the Iceland waters were more conveniently situated for English sailors, and that England had carried on a flourishing trade with Iceland long before Cabot sailed for the New World[2]. A more definite reason is given for the increase after 1576. The Newfoundland fishing trade had previously been chiefly in the hands of Bristol men. It was now commonly reported among the fishermen of Devon and Cornwall that their neighbours of Bristol were making vast profits in Newfoundland, and that these were partly due to some other source than the sea, in other words, to the discovery of metal ore; and Cornish and Devonshire

[1] The numbers are as follows:—

	Ships.	*Tonnage.*
French and Breton	150	7,000
Spanish (besides 50 sail engaged in whale fishing)	100	5,000 to 6,000
Portuguese	50	3,000
English (four years previously only 30) .	50	3,000

The best ships, both in construction and in 'furniture of munition' or armament, were the English and Spanish; next came the French, the Portuguese last.

[2] As an illustration of this it may be mentioned that the roll on which Cabot's patent is filed ('French Roll,' 11 Henry VII, m. 23, in the Public Record Office) includes two licences to English shipowners to trade to Iceland—one to John Beryf the elder of Brightlingsea, another to John Waynflete of Southwold. Beryf was apparently the father of the shipowner of the same name who by his will dated in 1521 charged a legacy of £40 to Brightlingsea church on his ships the *Barbara* and the *Maryflower* 'if God send them well home.'

men now ventured across the Atlantic in great numbers. That gold existed in the mountains of Florida was universally believed. Frobisher had found it in Meta Incognita. Had either gold or silver now been discovered in Newfoundland? If so, the time was come for action, for the Spaniards were to the English as four to one in Newfoundland waters, and the French were nearly as strong. Should either nation obtain a footing on the soil of the island, and erect fortifications, it might prove difficult to dislodge them.

Gilbert's 'Discourse to the Queen' throws a side-light on the treaty made by Elizabeth with the Dutch States in January, 1578. Probably the forty vessels of war to be furnished by the Netherlanders for service under the Queen's captains were intended for some such service as is contemplated in Gilbert's proposals. The Machiavellian suggestion of 'special provisoes,' ostensibly preventing adventurers from attacking the Spaniards or the French under pretence of discovering and inhabiting strange lands, has a prominent place in the letters patent granted to him in June, 1578. If Gilbert, it is provided, his heirs or assigns, shall rob or spoil the subjects of any prince in league and amity with England, he or they shall within a limited time make restitution and satisfaction on penalty of being outlawed. What followed shows how little was meant by all this. At the end of the summer, Gilbert collected a fleet of eleven vessels manned by 500 men, most of them being desperadoes who had joined him with the sole idea of participating in Spanish plunder. By the middle of September he was for his own part ready to sail. But the crews proved an unruly mob, and their

captains appear to have been divided in opinion as to the course to be pursued. While the men were brawling and roystering in the streets of Plymouth, the captains were wrangling with him over the scheme of the expedition. Gilbert probably adhered in opinion to his original plan of proceeding straight to Newfoundland, though he was compelled to abandon it and sail for the West Indies. Four of his captains deserted him with their ships and crews, and those who remained seem to have induced him to change his plan, though Newfoundland was still the pretended object of the voyage. With the view, perhaps, of giving further colour to this pretence, Gilbert, shortly before sailing, directed the elder Hakluyt to make inquiries about Newfoundland of one Anthony Parkhurst, a Bristol shipowner, who was known to have made several voyages thither. It may, however, be that Gilbert still had hopes of taking Newfoundland in the course of his voyage home, and looked forward to making practical use of the information to be obtained from Parkhurst.

Pursuant to Gilbert's instructions, Richard Hakluyt of the Middle Temple (his namesake, the preacher, was still residing at Oxford) dispatched a messenger to Parkhurst with a letter of inquiry, instructing him to induce Parkhurst to 'write at large' in reply to it. The purport of the questions may be inferred from Parkhurst's answer[1]. What was the nature of the soil and climate of Newfoundland, and what were its natural

[1] 'A Letter written to Master Richard Hakluyt of the Middle Temple, containing a report of the true state and commodities of Newfoundland, by Master Anthony Parkhurst, Gentleman, the 13th day of November, 1578.' (Hakluyt. *Voyages*, vol. iii. pp. 132–4.)

productions—the timber and fruit trees, fish, birds, game? How were the fish taken, and how many fishermen of different nations frequented it? What were the meetest parts to inhabit or colonize, especially with reference to convenience for erecting forts so as to make the English lords of the whole fishing in a small time, and sending from thence wood and coal, with all necessaries, to Labrador, lately discovered (i.e. the mines of Meta Incognita)? What minerals might be gotten in Newfoundland itself? Would Parkhurst undertake an expedition under commission from Gilbert, and make a true and perfect discovery of the Newfoundland waters, including the river of Canada and the firm land of Cape Breton? Parkhurst was ready and willing to do so. There was copper and iron, he assures Hakluyt, for he had brought home of the ore of both sorts. Of the precious metals he gives no hopes, but suggests that they may possibly exist at no great distance to the southward, and that here also would be found good fishing grounds. Parkhurst applauds rather than encourages Hakluyt's idea of converting the Indians to Christianity. Yet he trusts that the time will come when the people of those parts will be redeemed from out of the captivity of that spiritual Pharaoh, the devil. The phrase is interesting, for it is evidently echoed in Hayes's narrative (p. 279).

Whether Parkhurst's letter, which is dated November 13, 1578, reached Gilbert before the latter sailed from Plymouth, on the 19th of the same month, is not clear. In any case it made no difference to the conduct of the expedition, which sailed by the southern route, evidently with the object of striking a blow at the West Indies.

All that is known of the result is that one of the ships, of which Miles Morgan was captain (see p. 284), was lost in an encounter with the Spaniards, and that Gilbert returned in the following year, having done little or nothing to effect his purpose. Whatever his operations may have been, there was every reason for throwing a veil over them. Gilbert desired to repeat his attempt in 1579, but was forbidden to do so. Apparently he was given to understand that direct attacks on the Spaniards must be postponed, and that he must confine himself to the North, where there was an ample and perfectly legitimate field for English enterprise. Meanwhile he was sent on service in Ireland, and his project, thus limited, seems to have had little attraction for adventurers. At length a few others were induced to join him, and preparations were made for renewing his designs the year before his patent of 1578, which had a duration of only six years, came to an end.

Little hope seems to have been entertained at home that fortune would favour Gilbert's enterprise. Elizabeth, impressed with the fact that Gilbert 'had no good hap at sea,' wished some one else to be invested with the general command, and forbade her new favourite, Raleigh, from accompanying him in person. Through Raleigh, she commanded Gilbert to have his portrait painted before sailing; sent him, as a token of favour, a trinket representing an anchor guided by a lady, and charged him to have as good care of himself as if she herself were on board. Raleigh's words, at the conclusion of the letter in which he conveyed to his brother the Queen's commands, seem to imply that he also shared in the general apprehension. 'I commend you,'

he ominously writes, 'to the will and protection of God, who sends us such life or death as He shall please, or hath appointed.'

Gilbert's preparations for departure appear to have been well advanced when a stranger arrived in England, whose connexion with Gilbert's enterprise has secured him a curious immortality. Stephen Parmenius was a young graduate of the University of Buda, who after three years spent in visiting the principal Universities of the Continent at length made his way to Oxford. Here he became acquainted with the younger Hakluyt, who informed him of Gilbert's proposed expedition, and subsequently introduced him to Gilbert in London. Parmenius, moved to enthusiasm by the prospect of a new England to be founded in North America, produced a Latin poem more than three hundred lines long in honour of the occasion, and sent it to Gilbert. After painting, in rather turgid language, the reign of peace and liberty about to be inaugurated, he laments that the fates forbid him to hope for a share in it. He would willingly go out as a colonist; the Muses, he remarks, would emigrate with him, and perhaps inspire him to sing the beginnings of a great nation in immortal verse. Alas! he must return to Hungary and the horrors of war, and some Oxford poet will doubtless profit by the opportunity which he has unhappily lost[1]. Gilbert seems to

[1] O mihi felicem si fas conscendere puppim,
Et tecum, patria (pietas ignosce) relicta,
Longinquum penetrare fretum, penetrare sorores
Tecum una Aonias, illic exordia gentis
Prima novae ad seros transmittere posse nepotes!
Sed me fata vetant, memoraturumque canora
Inclyta facta tuba, ad clades miserabilis Istri
Invitum retrahunt. His, his me fata reservant;

have been touched by this appeal. He took the young verse-maker with him; and when the captain of the *Delight* returned in August, with the news that Gilbert had anchored at St. John's, and taken possession of Newfoundland to the use of the English crown, he carried with him a letter from Parmenius to Hakluyt, which the latter printed in his collection [1]. From this we gather that Hakluyt had some thoughts of following in another vessel, joining Gilbert's expedition, and seeing Newfoundland for himself. Had he done so, the chances are that, like Gilbert and Parmenius, he would never have returned. Fortunately he found no opportunity of risking his life in an expedition directed by Gilbert, whose career as a maritime adventurer was unfortunate from beginning to end.

There can be little doubt that this was partly Gilbert's own fault. An opinionated man, extremely jealous of his own credit, he took his own line in all things, paying little regard to the judgement or experience of others; and his violent temper evidently prevented those about him from pushing their remonstrances beyond a certain point. If Clarke, the sailing-master of the *Delight*, is to be believed [2], the loss of that vessel, and the

> Non deerit vates, illo qui cantet in orbe
> Aut veteres populos, aut nostro incognita coelo
> Munera naturae, dum spreto Helicone manebit
> Illa Aganippaeis sacrata Oxonia musis.'

[1] Vol. iii. p. 161.

[2] 'A Relation of Richard Clarke of Weymouth, master of the ship called the *Delight* going for the discovery of Norumbega with Sir Humfrey Gilbert, 1583. Written in excuse of that fault of casting away the ship and men, imputed to his oversight.' (Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 163.)

consequent failure of the expedition, is attributable to nothing but Gilbert's perversity. When the ships were within fifteen leagues of the island of Sablon, he came up to the *Delight* in his own light vessel, and consulted Clarke as to the course. Clarke unhesitatingly advised west-south-west, because the wind was in the south, the night at hand, and there were unknown sands stretching far out to sea from the shore they were nearing. Gilbert, however, commanded him to go west-north-west. Clarke in vain represented that his own ship would be upon the sands before daylight. Gilbert angrily replied that Clarke must be out in his reckoning, and commanded him in the Queen's name to do as he was bidden. Clarke obeyed; and his vessel was on the sands by seven o'clock the next morning. Gilbert, in the *Squirrel*, changed his course in time. The *Delight* became a wreck, and the young poet Parmenius was amongst those who perished in her.

On this occasion Gilbert was saved from shipwreck by the light draught of his own little vessel, which carried as a figurehead a red squirrel, the armorial crest of the Gilbert family. Possibly this gave him the notion that he would be safer in this mere cock-boat of ten tons than in the *Golden Hind*; at all events, not merely contrary to advice, but disregarding the 'vehement persuasion and entreaty' of his friends, he insisted on remaining in her, overladen as her decks were with guns and fighting gear, when re-crossing the Atlantic. He was annoyed, it appears, by a report which had spread among the sailors that he was afraid of the sea; and he gave as his reason for remaining that he would not forsake the little crew with

whom he had braved so many perils. Perhaps he wished to avoid the company of others, and to ponder alone over his experiences and plans for the future. Whatever may have been his real reason, his persistence cost him his life. The *Squirrel* foundered in a storm, and the bodings of evil which the voyage had called forth were literally fulfilled.

The simple narrative of Hayes probably gives a better idea of the expedition than we should have gained from the intended Latin heroics of Parmenius. Hayes has a vivid conception of Gilbert's singular personality; and this is so diffused throughout the substance of the story as to give the narrative something of a dramatic aspect. The sombre colouring which predominates is partly due to the theological ideas of the time. The writer believes the end of the world to be near, and that all things are ordered by Divine Providence with a view to it. Gilbert's obstinate self-will, he hints, frustrated a project in itself too worldly. His long-cherished plans, his high hopes, undamped by successive misfortunes, his resolute prosecution of his voyage in the teeth of unforeseen difficulties, his confidence in himself and assurance of ultimate success, are all as naught. God merely allows him to play his part, like a puppet, in a foreordained scheme involving his failure, to the end that his intemperate humours may be purged away, and he may be refined and made nearer to the Divine image, before it pleases God to take him to Himself.

Barlow's story of the adventures met with by Raleigh's first exploring party in North America has all the freshness and gaiety of an idyl. His description of

the sweet smell wafted to the voyagers from the American shore, as from some delicate garden abounding with all kinds of odoriferous flowers, was noticed by Bacon, and utilized by Dryden to flatter one of his patrons :—

> 'And as the Indies were not found, before
> Those rich perfumes, which from the happy shore
> The winds upon their balmy wings conveyed,
> Whose guilty sweetness first their world betrayed;
> So by your counsels we are brought to view
> A rich and undiscovered world in you.'

The picture of the people dwelling on this happy shore, mannerly and civil as any of Europe, most gentle, loving and faithful, and such as live after the manner of the golden age, and entertaining the strangers with all love and kindness, is truly delightful. No wonder that people rushed in the next year with Greenville to take possession of this transatlantic paradise. There was another element to be reckoned with. In the course of his narrative Barlow mentions the sanguinary inter-tribal wars waged by the Indians, and the partial depopulation of the country which had followed. He seems, however, to have thought the bow and arrow no match for the European arquebus, which inspired the Indian braves with abject terror ; and it never seems to have occurred to him that these amiable creatures might one day turn ferociously on the English strangers and massacre them. Even Lane, who was left by Greenville in charge of the original settlement, seems at first to have been equally unsuspicious. In the extract from a letter written by him to the elder Hakluyt, printed by the younger Hakluyt in his collection, nothing is said of the natives except that they are

'most courteous.' Everything is going on smoothly. Virginia is the goodliest soil under the cope of heaven. It abounds with sweet trees, yielding sundry rich and pleasant gums. There are grapes of such greatness, yet wild, as France, Spain, and Italy have no greater. There are several sorts of apothecary drugs. There are several kinds of flax; one of these is as fine as silk, and is produced by a grass which grows like a weed. The ear of maize has four hundred grains, and the stalk makes good and perfect sugar. Whatsoever commodities England procures from Spain, France, Italy, and the eastern parts, as wines of all sorts, oils, flax, resins, pitch, frankincense, currants, sugars, and the like, these parts abound with them all. There is great abundance of sundry other rich commodities found in no other parts of the world, east or west. And besides that it is the goodliest and most pleasing territory of the world, the continent is of an huge and unknown greatness, and the climate so wholesome that none of the company had fallen sick since they touched land. If Virginia had but horses and kine in some reasonable proportion, being inhabited with English, no realm in Christendom were comparable to it.

This golden prospect was rudely dissipated. Lane's explorations excited the suspicions of the natives. The chief, or 'king,' of Roanoke changed his attitude, sought to cut off the food supplies of the English, and at length organized a conspiracy to massacre their leaders. The grass huts in which they lodged were to be fired in the night, and each, as he rushed out into the darkness, was to be clubbed from behind. The plot was discovered

in time, and the conspirators were surprised and shot down; but the position of the colonists could only have been maintained by reinforcements, and large importations of food and ammunition. Failing these, they were well advised in returning to England at the first opportunity; and Lane's report to Raleigh shows that his first impressions had been modified. He thought that nothing short of rich mines, or the discovery of a passage to the Pacific, would induce people to remain in Virginia. The fifteen men shortly afterwards left on the site by Greenville, in ignorance of all that had happened to Lane's party, were no doubt attacked and overpowered by the Indians soon after Greenville's return; and the same fate befell most of the company of settlers taken out by White in 1587. Raleigh's intended settlement had failed because it had not been planned on a larger scale, and received no adequate support from home. One cause of its being neglected in the ensuing year was the Spanish invasion of England in 1588. But there can be little doubt that, if the search for the emigrants had been properly prosecuted in the years following, some of them would have been found alive, and the colony might have been re-established. Raleigh, who had ships at sea engaged in plundering the Spaniards, has been severely blamed for not doing so; and Bacon seems to allude to the circumstances in a well-known passage at the end of his Essay on Plantations. 'It is,' he says, 'the sinfullest thing in the world to forsake or destitute a plantation once in forwardness; for, besides the dishonour, it is the guiltiness of blood of many commiserable persons.'

In preparing the text of the narratives for the press

the plan usually adopted in reprinting our English Bible and Shakespeare has been followed. The obsolete spelling and punctuation have been abandoned; but whatever is archaic in the substance of words and the structure of sentences is carefully preserved. Hakluyt's text has been preferred to first editions, where such exist. Hakluyt was an excellent editor: the alterations and omissions which he makes always improve the narrative. Best, for instance, referring to the alleged fact that the only bit of auriferous stone which existed on Hall's Island (see pp. 94, 102) was the very one to be picked up and carried on board, solemnly ascribes it to the intervention of the Almighty. This was too much for Hakluyt, who strikes the passage out. The syntax of the narratives is often harsh, involved, and imperfect. In general whatever is intelligible has been allowed to pass without alteration. In one or two places a word has been inserted in brackets for the purpose of making the sense clearer, but in no case has the text been unnecessarily disturbed. A few manifest errors have been corrected. Here and there some lines have been omitted; occasionally a word or phrase calculated to offend the reader's eye has been replaced by another. In the former case, the passage is marked by asterisks, in the latter by an obelus.

The portraits in this volume, that of Raleigh excepted, are reproductions from engravings in Holland's *Heroö-logia.* Raleigh's portrait is from a miniature belonging to the Duke of Rutland, to whom, and to Mr. Stebbing, in whose *Life of Raleigh* this reproduction first appeared, we are indebted for permission to make use of it.

LIFE AND WORKS OF HAKLUYT.

'RICHARD HAKLUYT, Preacher,' as he usually described himself, to distinguish him from his cousin, Richard Hakluyt, Esquire, of Eyton in Herefordshire, and the Middle Temple—'Learned Hakluyt,' or 'Industrious Hakluyt,' as he was commonly styled by his contemporaries, was probably born in or near London about 1553. The family appears to be purely English, the name being simply an abbreviated spelling of Hacklewit or Hacklewight (compare 'Udall' for 'Woodall,' &c.). While at Westminster School, where he was a Queen's Scholar, young Hakluyt often visited his kinsman in the Temple. Both his parents died while he was a child: possibly the kinsman was his guardian. The elder Hakluyt, an enthusiastic student of cosmography, showed the youth for the first time the new map of the world, and explained to him the vast revolution in nautical matters which had recently taken place. Hakluyt became deeply impressed with the subject, and resolved to dedicate himself to the furtherance of maritime enterprise by Englishmen. In due time (1570) he proceeded to Oxford as a Student of Christ Church,—being contemporary with Raleigh, a commoner of Oriel,—was admitted to the degree of B.A. in 1574, and to that of M.A. in 1577. He afterwards lectured in the Schools on cosmography,

being, as he claims in his earliest printed work, the first to illustrate in public the difference between the old imperfectly-composed and the new lately-reformed maps, which he performed to the general contentment of his auditory. The work in question, entitled 'Divers Voyages touching the Discovery of America and the Islands adjacent to the same, made first of all by our Englishmen, and afterwards by the Frenchmen and Britons, &c.,' was published in 1582. In the next year Hakluyt quitted Oxford and went to Paris as chaplain to the English Ambassador. Here he wrote 'A Particular Discourse concerning Western Discoveries' (1584, not printed at the time), translated the Journal of Laudonnière, and published a new and corrected edition of the 'Decades' of Peter Martyr, with marginal notes and a copious index, dedicated to Sir Walter Raleigh (1587). The object of this publication was to incite other maritime nations, especially the English, to emulate the deeds of the Spaniards in the New World. In his dedicatory epistle to Raleigh he draws attention to the fact that Peter Martyr thrice describes Sebastian Cabot as the discoverer of 'Bacalaos' or Newfoundland, having sailed thither, accompanied by three hundred Englishmen, pursuant to a patent from Henry VII in 1496, and coasted the shores of America from the Arctic circle to the latitude of the Straits of Gibraltar (36°)[1]. Hakluyt regarded Cabot as the English Columbus. He salutes Raleigh,

[1] It was not Sebastian Cabot, it should here be observed, but his father, John, who commanded the small bark, carrying only eighteen persons, which first reached the American continent from England. Sebastian may possibly have been on board. The year was 1497; and they probably did no more than coast along Cape Breton Island, etc.

who was then preparing his third colonizing expedition to 'Virginia,' as the English Cortes; and charges him to let the exploits of his Spanish prototype, recorded in the musical prose of Peter Martyr, ring in his ears by day, and keep him awake at night, even as the trophies of Miltiades did Themistocles. In conclusion Hakluyt mentions that he proposes shortly to publish his Collection of English Voyages, arranged in an orderly series, and cleansed from the dust of ages, in order that Englishmen may behold their inheritance, and seize the opportunity of recovering it.

In the next year (1588) Hakluyt returned to England, and in 1589 published in one volume folio the first edition of the great work on which his fame mainly rests. He entitled it 'The Principal Navigations, Voyages, and Discoveries of the English Nation,' and dedicated it to Sir Francis Walsingham. A second and enlarged edition, in three volumes, was published 1598–1600, and dedicated to Sir Robert Cecil. The first and second volumes deal with the Old World, the third volume with the New. The first volume includes 'Voyages made to the North and North-east quarters of the world,' beginning with the fabulous conquest of Iceland by King Arthur in A. D. 517, extracted from Geoffrey of Monmouth, and ending with an account of 'The Vanquishing of the Spanish Armada,' translated from a Dutch chronicler. It is composed of miscellaneous material relating to voyages in the northern seas, including the Baltic, and the commerce of the countries to which they give access, especially Russia. Among the most interesting pieces contained in it is the metrical 'Libel of English Policy, exhorting all England to keep

the Sea, and namely the Narrow Sea' (the English Channel, cp. post, p. 130), written between 1416 and 1438. The second volume includes the 'Voyages to the South and South-east quarters of the World, by and within the Strait of Gibraltar.' It embraces voyages to Guinea and the East Indies, and in the Atlantic as far as the Azores, which were considered to be the western-most parts of the Old World. Hence it happens that this volume contains Raleigh's narrative of Greenville's celebrated fifteen hours' fight in the *Revenge*. The third volume consists of voyages to America, beginning with its mythical discovery by the Welsh prince Madoc A.D. 1170, and proceeding directly to Columbus and Cabot. The mass of material which had accumulated in a single century is arranged as follows: (1) the North-West Passage, Newfoundland and Canada, (2) Eastern North America (Virginia and Florida); (3) Central North America (New Mexico, Cibola, and Quivira); (4) Western North America (California); (5) Mexico and the Antilles; (6) Guiana; (7) Brazil; (8) the Plate River. Hakluyt places last the voyages intended for passing the Strait of Magellan and navigating the Pacific and Indian Oceans. Of the six expeditions which had set forth with this object only two had attained it: these were the famous 'circumnavigations' of Drake and Cavendish.

Hakluyt's last publication was a translation of the account of De Soto's expedition to Florida (ante, p. xxxiii), written in Portuguese by the anonymous 'Gentleman of Elvas.' The object of this volume, which appeared in 1609, was simply to magnify the newly-founded colony of Virginia, in which he

was a shareholder, in the eyes of English capitalists; and he accordingly entitled it 'Virginia Richly Valued by the Description of Florida her Next Neighbour.'

Hakluyt's labours obtained him early and ample preferment. In 1586 he succeeded to a prebendal stall in the cathedral of Bristol, the reversion to which had been granted him a year or two previously. In 1590 he became rector of Wetheringsett in Suffolk; in 1602 prebendary, and in 1603 archdeacon of Westminster; he was also a chaplain of the Savoy. He secured in 1605 the prospective living of James Town, the intended capital of the intended colony of Virginia, the value of which had been fixed in advance at the liberal sum of £500 per annum. This potential benefice Hakluyt prudently supplied by a young curate named Robert Hunt, who lived there only a year or two, and died lamented by the colonists. Hakluyt's last preferment was the rectory of Gedney in Lincolnshire, obtained by him in 1612. Out of his emoluments he amassed a considerable fortune, which was squandered by a son. Hakluyt died in 1616, and was buried in Westminster Abbey. No inscription marks his grave, nor is it known in what part of the church he was interred[1].

[1] For further information concerning Hakluyt, Hawkins, Frobisher and Drake, the reader is referred to Professor J. K. Laughton's articles in the 'Dictionary of National Biography,' to which the editor acknowledges his obligations in preparing the present edition. Those who wish to study the subject comprehensively must have recourse to Mr. Froude's History of England, to his eloquent essay on 'England's Forgotten Worthies,' by which this little work was originally suggested, and to his four lectures entitled 'English Seamen in the Sixteenth Century,' delivered before the University of Oxford.

DIRECTIONS FOR TAKING A PRIZE.

(From Chap. III. of *The Seaman's Grammar*, by Captain John Smith, sometimes Governor of Virginia and Admiral of New England. London, 1652. The editor calls it 'the masterpiece' of the book.)

'A sail!' 'How bears she [*or* stands she]? To wind-ward or lee-ward? Set him by the compass!' 'He stands right a-head [*or* on the weather-bow, *or* lee-bow].' 'Let fly your colours (if you have a consort, else not)! Out with all your sails! A steady man to the helm—sit close to keep her steady! Give him chase [*or* fetch him up]!'—'He holds his own!' 'No—we gather on him, Captain!' Out goes his flag and pendants, also his waist-cloths and top-armings, which is a long red cloth about three-quarters of a yard broad, edged on each side with calico or white linen cloth, that goeth round about the ship on the outsides of all her upper works, fore and aft, and before the cubbridge-heads[1], also about the fore- and main-tops, as well for the countenance and grace of the ship, as to cover the men from being seen. He furls and slings his main-yard; in goes his sprit-sail. Thus they use to strip themselves into their 'short sails,' or 'fighting sails,' which is, only the foresail, the main and fore top-sails, because the rest should not be fired nor spoiled; besides, they would be troublesome to handle, hinder our sights and the using our arms. He makes ready his close fights[2], fore and aft.

'Master, how stands the chase?' 'Right on head, I say.' 'Well: we shall reach him bye and bye. What! is all ready?'

[1] The bulk-heads of the fore-castle.

[2] Bulk-heads set up to cover the men while firing.

'Yea, yea.' 'Every man to his charge! Dowse your top-sail to salute him for the sea: hail him with a noise of trumpets. Whence is your ship?' 'Of *Spain*: whence is yours?' 'Of *England*.' 'Are you a merchant, or a man-of-war[1]?' 'We are of the Sea!' He waves us to leeward with his drawn sword, calls amain for the king of Spain, and springs his luff[2]. 'Give him a chase-piece with your broad-side, and run a good berth a-head of him!' 'Done, done.' 'We have the wind of him, and he tacks about.' 'Tack you about also, and keep your luff[3]! Be yare at the helm! Edge in with him! Give him a volley of small shot, also your prow and broad-side as before, and keep your luff.' 'He pays us shot for shot!' 'Well: we shall requite him!'

'What! Are you ready again?' 'Yea, yea!' 'Try him once more, as before!' 'Done, done!' 'Keep your luff and load your ordnance again: is all ready?' 'Yea, yea!' 'Edge in with him again! Begin with your bow-pieces, proceed with your broad-side, and let her fall off with the wind, to give her also your full chase, your weather broad-side, and bring her round that the stern may also discharge and your tacks close aboard again!' 'Done, done! . . . The wind veers, the sea goes too high to board her, and we are shot thorough and thorough, and between wind and water.' 'Try the pump: bear up the helm! Master, let us breathe and refresh a little, and sling a man over-board to stop the leaks:' that is to truss him up about the middle in a piece of canvas and a rope to keep him from sinking, and his arms at liberty, with a mallet in the one hand, and a plug lapped in oakum, and well tarred, in a tarpawling clout in the other, which he will quickly beat into the hole or holes the bullets made. 'What cheer, mates? Is all well?' 'All well!—All well!—All well!' 'Then make ready to bear up with him again!' And

[1] Smith's original text has 'merchants, or men of war.'
[2] Brings his ship suddenly close by the wind.
[3] Keep nearer to the wind.

with all your great and small shot charge him, and in the smoke board him thwart the hawse, on the bow, mid-ships, or, rather than fail, on his quarter; or make fast your grapplings, if you can, to his close fights, and sheer off. 'Captain, we are foul on each other, and the ship is on fire!' 'Cut anything to get clear, and smother the fire with wet cloths.' In such a case they will presently be such friends as to help one another all they can to get clear, lest they should both burn together and sink: and if they be generous, the fire quenched, drink kindly one to another, heave their cans over-board, and then begin again as before.

'Well, Master, the day is spent; the night draws on, let us consult. Chirurgeon, look to the wounded, and wind up the slain (with each a weight or bullet at their heads and feet to make them sink, and give them three guns for their funerals). Swabber, make clean the ship. Purser, record their names. Watch, be vigilant to keep your berth to windward, that we lose him not in the night. Gunners, spunge your ordnance. Soldiers, scour your pieces. Carpenters, about your leaks. Boatswain and the rest, repair the sails and shrouds, and Cook, see you observe your directions against the morning watch.' . . . . . 'Boy, holla! Master, holla! is the kettle boiled?' 'Yea, yea!' 'Boatswain, call up the men to prayer and breakfast.'

'Boy, fetch my cellar of bottles. A health to you all, fore and aft! Courage, my hearts, for a fresh charge! Gunners, beat open the ports, and out with your lower tier, and bring me from the weather-side to the lee so many pieces as we have ports to bear upon him. Master, lay him aboard, luff for luff! Mid-ships men, see the tops and yards well manned, with stones, fire-pots, and brass balls, to throw amongst them before we enter: or if we be put off, charge them with all your great and small shot; in the smoke let us enter them in the shrouds, and every squadron at his best advantage. So, sound drums and trumpets, and SAINT GEORGE FOR ENGLAND!'

'They hang out a flag of truce!' 'Hail him amain, ABASE[1]!' (or take in his flag.) They strike their sails, and come aboard with their captain, purser, and gunner, with their commission, cocket, or bills of loading. Out goes the boat: they are launched from the ship-side. Entertain them with a cry, 'God save the captain and all the company!' with the trumpets sounding. Examine them in particular, and then conclude your conditions, with feasting, freedom, or punishment, as you find occasion. But always have as much care to their wounded as to your own; and if there be either young women or aged men, use them nobly, which is ever the nature of a generous disposition. To conclude, if you surprise him, or enter perforce, you may stow the men, rifle, pillage, or sack, and cry a prize.

[1] I.e. 'Down with your flag!' The summons to surrender. Fr. *A bas!* Sp. *Abajo!* (Compare p. 209.)

DRAKE (b. 1540? d. 1596).

Francis Drake, the greatest of English naval adventurers, and the first Englishman to plough a furrow round the globe, was born at Crowndale, near Tavistock, whence his father removed into Kent. He was one of a large family, most of whom went to sea, and died at sea, like himself[1]. Like Hawkins and Frobisher, he had been early employed in the West African trade, and had by this or other means become a man of substance. As the reader is aware (p. 5), Drake had commanded the *Judith*, under Hawkins, in the third voyage of the latter (1567). Drake had embarked most of his own capital in that venture, and claimed to have sustained heavy losses by the perfidy of the Spaniards at San Juan de Ulua. Failing to obtain compensation by peaceable means, he had recourse to plundering the Spaniards by way of redressing his alleged wrongs. At the date of the Famous Voyage Drake had already made more than one successful raid on the American coast, and had shown to his men what he described as 'the mouth of the Treasure of the World'—the door of the bullion warehouse of Nombre de Dios. On the 11th of February, 1573, the maroons of the isthmus had conducted him to a lofty ridge, on the summit of which was a tree of giant growth, having steps hewn in it for ascent. Drake mounted it, and beheld at the same time the two oceans, in one of which, the mighty Pacific, no Englishman had hitherto sailed. Drake then and there prayed God 'to give him life and leave to sail once in an English ship upon that sea.' Calling up John Oxenham, one of his captains, he acquainted him with his resolution to do so.

[1] Two of his brothers died in the expedition of 1572; another, Thomas Drake, commanded the *Thomas* in the Great Armada (post, p. 234).

Oxenham vowed that by God's grace he would follow him: instead of which he rashly resolved to anticipate him (1575). Landing on a retired part of the isthmus, he launched a pinnace on a river flowing into the Pacific, reached that ocean, and captured two Peruvian vessels laden with gold and silver. This perilous feat cost Oxenham his life: he was pursued, taken, and sent to Lima, where he was put to death as a pirate. Drake determined to tap the 'Treasure of the World' in another way. He proposed secretly to pass the Straits at the southern extremity of the Continent, to sail northwards along the coast of Chile, and thus to reach Peru itself. The Peruvian ports were unfortified. They were unapproachable from Europe on the north; nothing seemed more unlikely than that the English pirates would dare to pass the Straits of Magellan and attack them from the south. Such was the plan of Drake; and it was executed with complete success. Laden with his rich booty of Peruvian treasure, he deemed it unsafe to return by the same route. Obviously nothing would be easier than for the Spaniards to intercept him at the Straits of Magellan. Cape Horn was unknown: Tierra del Fuego was believed to be part of a great imaginary southern continent called Terra Australis. He therefore resolved to strike across the Pacific, and for this purpose made the latitude in which this voyage was performed by Spanish vessels sailing to the Philippines[1]. Drake thus reached the coast of California, where the Indians, taking him and his companions for gods, offered him sacrifice, and besought him to remain and rule over them. Drake took possession of the country in the name of the Queen, and refitted his vessel in preparation for the homeward voyage. The place where he landed remains doubtful. If the latitude of 38° 30′, given by Drake's chaplain Fletcher, is correct, it must have been in some small bay north of the great bay of San Francisco: perhaps the bay of Bodega best answers the description. Pretty (p. 214) puts the latitude at 38°;

[1] Davis and Sir William Monson, following the narrative of Drake's chaplain, Fletcher, erroneously state that Drake went as far north as 48 degrees. The true reading is 43. Drake never reached the mouth of the Columbia river.

this approximately indicates the bay of San Francisco itself, which is marked in old maps as the 'Port of Sir Francis Drake.' He believed himself to be the first European who had visited these shores; but it is now ascertained that Spanish explorers had preceded him.

Drake's famous 'circumnavigation of the globe' was thus no voluntary feat of daring seamanship, but the necessary result of circumstances. This fact does not detract from its importance. The voyage marks a great epoch in English nautical history. Drake had not only plundered the Spaniards in the very heart of their American possessions; he had been the first Englishman to navigate the Pacific and Indian oceans, and to visit the rich Oriental islands frequented by the Portuguese, whose factories were so soon to fall, together with Portugal itself, into the avaricious grasp of Spain. He had been the first Englishman to realize the dream of Columbus, and to sail to the East by way of the West. Elizabeth, who had contributed largely to the funds of the enterprise, visited and knighted him on the deck of his vessel, the name of which he had changed, on entering the Straits of Magellan, from the *Pelican* to the *Golden Hind.*

The hull of the *Golden Hind* long remained at Deptford, used as a restaurant. When she was at length broken up, John Davis caused a chair to be made out of her timbers, and presented it to the University of Oxford. This interesting relic is still preserved over the Bodleian Library. Cowley's fine lines, purporting to have been written by the poet while sitting and drinking in it, are well known:—

> 'Great Relic! Thou, too, in this port of ease,
> Hast still one way of making voyages:
> The breath of fame, like an auspicious gale,
> (The greater trade-wind, which does never fail)
> Shall drive thee round the world, and thou shalt run
> As long around it as the sun.
> The Straits of Time too narrow are for thee—
> Launch forth into an undiscover'd sea,
> And steer the endless course of vast eternity:
> Take for thy sail, this verse, and for thy pilot, me.'

DRAKE'S FAMOUS VOYAGE.

[NARRATIVE BY FRANCIS PRETTY, ONE OF DRAKE'S GENTLEMEN AT ARMS.]

The FAMOUS VOYAGE *of* SIR FRANCIS DRAKE *into the South Sea, and therehence about the whole Globe of the Earth, begun in the year of our Lord 1577.*

The 15. day of November, in the year of our Lord 1577, Master *Francis Drake*, with a fleet of five ships and barks[1], and to the number of 164 men, gentlemen and sailors, departed from *Plymouth*, giving out his pretended voyage for *Alexandria*. But the wind falling contrary, he was forced the next morning to put into *Falmouth* Haven, in *Cornwall*, where such and so terrible a tempest took us, as few men have seen the like, and was indeed so vehement that all our ships were like to have gone to wrack. But it pleased God to preserve us from that extremity, and to afflict us only for that present with these two particulars: the mast of our Admiral, which was the *Pelican*, was cut overboard for the safeguard of the ship, and the *Marigold* was driven ashore, and somewhat bruised. For the repairing of which damages we returned again to *Plymouth*; and having recovered those harms, and brought the ships again to good state, we set forth the second time from

[1] The *Pelican*, 120 tons, commanded by Drake; the *Elizabeth*, a new Deptford-built ship of 80 tons, commanded by Winter, with her pinnace the *Benedict*; the *Marigold*, of 30 tons; and the *Swan*, a fly-boat of 50 tons.

Plymouth, and set sail the 13. day of December following.

The 25. day of the same month we fell with the Cape *Cantin*, upon the coast of *Barbary*; and coasting along, the 27. day we found an island called *Mogador*, lying one mile distant from the main. Between which island and the main we found a very good and safe harbour for our ships to ride in, as also very good entrance, and void of any danger. On this island our General erected a pinnace, whereof he brought out of *England* with him four already framed. While these things were in doing, there came to the water's side some of the inhabitants of the country, shewing forth their flags of truce; which being seen of our General, he sent his ship's boat to the shore to know what they would. They being willing to come aboard, our men left there one man of our company for a pledge, and brought two of theirs aboard our ship; which by signs shewed our General that the next day they would bring some provision, as sheep, capons, and hens, and such like. Whereupon our General bestowed amongst them some linen cloth and shoes, and a javelin, which they very joyfully received, and departed for that time. The next morning they failed not to come again to the water's side. And our General again setting out our boat, one of our men leaping over-rashly ashore, and offering friendly to embrace them, they set violent hands on him, offering a dagger to his throat if he had made any resistance; and so laying him on a horse carried him away. So that a man cannot be too circumspect and wary of himself among such miscreants. Our pinnace being finished, we departed from this place the 30. and last day of December, and coasting along the shore we did descry, not contrary to our expectation, certain *canters*, which were Spanish fisher-

men [1]; to whom we gave chase and took three of them. And proceeding further we met with three carvels, and took them also.

The 17. day of January we arrived at *Cape Blanco*, where we found a ship riding at anchor, within the Cape, and but two simple mariners in her. Which ship we took and carried her further into the harbour, where we remained four days; and in that space our General mustered and trained his men on land in warlike manner, to make them fit for all occasions. In this place we took of the fishermen such necessaries as we wanted, and they could yield us; and leaving here one of our little barks, called the *Benedict*, we took with us one of theirs which they called *canters*, being of the burden of 40 tons or thereabouts. All these things being finished we departed this harbour the 22. of January, carrying along with us one of the Portugal carvels, which was bound to the islands of *Cape Verde* for salt, whereof good store is made in one of those islands. The master or pilot of that carvel did advertise our General that upon one of those islands, called *Mayo*, there was great store of dried *cabritos* [2], which a few inhabitants there dwelling did yearly make ready for such of the king's ships as did there touch, being bound for his country of *Brazil* or elsewhere. We fell with this island the 27. of January, but the inhabitants would in no case traffic with us, being thereof forbidden by the king's edict. Yet the next day our General sent to view the island, and the likelihoods that might be there of provision of victuals, about threescore and two men under the conduct and government of Master *Winter* and Master *Doughty*. And marching towards the chief place of habitation in this island (as by the Portugal we were informed), having

[1] Old Sp. *cantera* (perhaps from *cantharus*). [2] Goats.

travelled to the mountains the space of three miles, and arriving there somewhat before the daybreak, we arrested ourselves, to see day before us. Which appearing, we found the inhabitants to be fled ; but the place, by reason that it was manured, we found to be more fruitful than the other part, especially the valleys among the hills.

Here we gave ourselves a little refreshing, as by very ripe and sweet grapes, which the fruitfulness of the earth at that season of the year yielded us ; and that season being with us the depth of winter, it may seem strange that those fruits were then there growing. But the reason thereof is this, because they being between the tropic and the equinoctial, the sun passeth twice in the year through their zenith over their heads, by means whereof they have two summers ; and being so near the heat of the line they never lose the heat of the sun so much, but the fruits have their increase and continuance in the midst of winter. The island is wonderfully stored with goats and wild hens ; and it hath salt also, without labour, save only that the people gather it into heaps ; which continually in great quantity is increased upon the sands by the flowing of the sea, and the receiving heat of the sun kerning the same. So that of the increase thereof they keep a continual traffic with their neighbours.

Amongst other things we found here a kind of fruit called *cocos*, which because it is not commonly known with us in *England*, I thought good to make some description of it. The tree beareth no leaves nor branches, but at the very top the fruit groweth in clusters, hard at the top of the stem of the tree, as big every several fruit as a man's head ; but having taken off the uttermost bark, which you shall find to be very full of strings or sinews, as I may term them, you shall come to a hard shell, which may hold in quantity of

liquor a pint commonly, or some a quart, and some less. Within that shell, of the thickness of half-an-inch good, you shall have a kind of hard substance and very white, no less good and sweet than almonds; within that again, a certain clear liquor, which being drunk, you shall not only find it very delicate and sweet, but most comfortable and cordial.

After we had satisfied ourselves with some of these fruits, we marched further into the island, and saw great store of *cabritos* alive, which were so chased by the inhabitants that we could do no good towards our provision; but they had laid out, as it were to stop our mouths withal, certain old dried *cabritos*, which being but ill, and small and few, we made no account of. Being returned to our ships, our General departed hence the 31. of this month, and sailed by the island of *Santiago*, but far enough from the danger of the inhabitants, who shot and discharged at us three pieces; but they all fell short of us, and did us no harm. The island is fair and large, and, as it seemeth, rich and fruitful, and inhabited by the Portugals; but the mountains and high places of the island are said to be possessed by the Moors, who having been slaves to the Portugals, to ease themselves, made escape to the desert places of the island, where they abide with great strength. Being before this island, we espied two ships under sail, to the one of which we gave chase, and in the end boarded her with a ship-boat without resistance; which we found to be a good prize, and she yielded unto us good store of wine. Which prize our General committed to the custody of Master *Doughty*; and retaining the pilot, sent the rest away with his pinnace, giving them a butt of wine and some victuals, and their wearing clothes, and so they departed. The same night we came with the island called by the

Portugals *Ilha do Fogo*, that is, the burning island; in the north side whereof is a consuming fire. The matter is said to be of sulphur, but, notwithstanding, it is like to be a commodious island, because the Portugals have built, and do inhabit there. Upon the south side thereof lieth a most pleasant and sweet island, the trees whereof are always green and fair to look upon; in respect whereof they call it *Ilha Brava*, that is, the brave island. From the banks thereof into the sea do run in many places reasonable streams of fresh waters easy to come by, but there was no convenient road for our ships; for such was the depth that no ground could be had for anchoring. And it is reported that ground was never found in that place; so that the tops of *Fogo* burn not so high in the air, but the roots of *Brava* are quenched as low in the sea.

Being departed from these islands, we drew towards the line, where we were becalmed the space of three weeks, but yet subject to divers great storms, terrible lightnings and much thunder. But with this misery we had the commodity of great store of fish, as dolphins, *bonitos*, and flying-fishes, whereof some fell into our ships; wherehence they could not rise again for want of moisture, for when their wings are dry they cannot fly.

From the first day of our departure from the islands of *Cape Verde*, we sailed 54 days without sight of land. And the first land that we fell with was the coast of *Brazil*, which we saw the fifth of April, in the height of 33 degrees towards the pole Antarctic. And being discovered at sea by the inhabitants of the country, they made upon the coast great fires for a sacrifice (as we learned) to the devils; about which they use conjurations, making heaps of sand, and other ceremonies, that when any ship shall go about to stay upon their coast, not only sands may be gathered together in shoals in every place,

but also that storms and tempests may arise, to the casting away of ships and men, whereof, as it is reported, there have been divers experiments.

The 7. day in a mighty great storm, both of lightning, rain, and thunder, we lost the *canter*, which we called the *Christopher*. But the eleventh day after, by our General's great care in dispersing his ships, we found her again; and the place where we met our General called the *Cape of Joy*, where every ship took in some water. Here we found a good temperature and sweet air, a very fair and pleasant country with an exceeding fruitful soil, where were great store of large and mighty deer, but we came not to the sight of any people; but travelling further into the country we perceived the footing of people in the clay ground, shewing that they were men of great stature. Being returned to our ships we weighed anchor, and ran somewhat further, and harboured ourselves between the rock and the main; where by means of the rock that brake the force of the sea, we rid very safe. And upon this rock we killed for our provision certain sea-wolves, commonly called with us *seals*. From hence we went our course to 36 degrees, and entered the great river of *Plate*, and ran into 54 and 53½ fathoms of fresh water, where we filled our water by the ship's side; but our General finding here no good harborough, as he thought he should, bare out again to sea the 27. of April, and in bearing out we lost sight of our fly-boat, wherein Master *Doughty* was. But we, sailing along, found a fair and reasonable good bay, wherein were many and the same profitable islands; one whereof had so many seals as would at the least have laden all our ships, and the rest of the islands are, as it were, laden with fowls, which is wonderful to see, and they of divers sorts. It is a place very plentiful of victuals, and hath in it no want of fresh water. Our

General, after certain days of his abode in this place, being on shore in an island, the people of the country shewed themselves unto him, leaping and dancing, and entered into traffic with him; but they would not receive anything at any man's hands, but the same must be cast upon the ground. They are of clean, comely, and strong bodies, swift on foot, and seem to be very active.

The 18. day of May, our General thought it needful to have a care of such ships as were absent; and therefore endeavouring to seek the fly-boat wherein Master *Doughty* was, we espied her again the next day. And whereas certain of our ships were sent to discover the coast and to search an harbour, the *Marigold* and the *canter* being employed in that business, came unto us and gave us understanding of a safe harbour that they had found. Wherewith all our ships bare, and entered it; where we watered and made new provision of victuals, as by seals, whereof we slew to the number of 200 or 300 in the space of an hour. Here our General in the Admiral rid close aboard the fly-boat, and took out of her all the provision of victuals and what else was in her, and hauling her to the land, set fire to her, and so burnt her to save the iron work. Which being a-doing, there came down of the country certain of the people naked, saving only about their waist the skin of some beast, with the fur or hair on, and something also wreathed on their heads. Their faces were painted with divers colours, and some of them had on their heads the similitude of horns, every man his bow, which was an ell in length, and a couple of arrows. They were very agile people and quick to deliver, and seemed not to be ignorant in the feats of wars, as by their order of ranging a few men might appear. These people would not of a long time receive anything at our hands; yet at length our General being ashore, and they dancing

after their accustomed manner about him, and he once turning his back towards them, one leaped suddenly to him, and took his cap with his gold band off his head, and ran a little distance from him, and shared it with his fellow, the cap to the one, and the band to the other. Having despatched all our business in this place, we departed and set sail. And immediately upon our setting forth we lost our *canter*, which was absent three or four days; but when our General had her again, he took out the necessaries, and so gave her over, near to the *Cape of Good Hope*. The next day after, being the 20. of June, we harboured ourselves again in a very good harborough, called by *Magellan*, *Port St. Julian*, where we found a gibbet standing upon the main; which we supposed to be the place where *Magellan* did execution upon some of his disobedient and rebellious company.

The two and twentieth day our General went ashore to the main, and in his company *John Thomas*, and *Robert Winterhie*, *Oliver* the master-gunner, *John Brewer*, *Thomas Hood*, and *Thomas Drake*. And entering on land, they presently met with two or three of the country people. And *Robert Winterhie* having in his hands a bow and arrows, went about to make a shoot of pleasure, and, in his draught, his bowstring brake; which the rude savages taking as a token of war, began to bend the force of their bows against our company, and drove them to their shifts very narrowly.

In this port our General began to enquire diligently of the actions of Master *Thomas Doughty*, and found them not to be such as he looked for, but tending rather of contention or mutiny, or some other disorder, whereby, without redress, the success of the voyage might greatly have been hazarded. Whereupon the company was called together and made acquainted with the particulars of the cause, which were found, partly by Master

Doughty's own confession, and partly by the evidence of the fact, to be true. Which when our General saw, although his private affection to Master *Doughty*, as he then in the presence of us all sacredly protested, was great, yet the care he had of the state of the voyage, of the expectation of her Majesty, and of the honour of his country did more touch him, as indeed it ought, than the private respect of one man. So that the cause being throughly heard, and all things done in good order as near as might be to the course of our laws in *England*, it was concluded that Master *Doughty* should receive punishment according to the quality of the offence. And he, seeing no remedy but patience for himself, desired before his death to receive the communion, which he did at the hands of Master *Fletcher*, our minister, and our General himself accompanied him in that holy action. Which being done, and the place of execution made ready, he having embraced our General, and taken his leave of all the company, with prayers for the Queen's Majesty and our realm, in quiet sort laid his head to the block, where he ended his life. This being done, our General made divers speeches to the whole company, persuading us to unity, obedience, love, and regard of our voyage; and for the better confirmation thereof, willed every man the next Sunday following to prepare himself to receive the communion, as Christian brethren and friends ought to do. Which was done in very reverent sort; and so with good contentment every man went about his business.

The 17. day of August we departed the port of *St. Julian*[1], and the 20. day we fell with the Strait of *Magellan*, going into the South Sea; at the cape or head-

[1] The squadron was now reduced to three ships, the *Swan* and the *Christopher*, as well as the Portuguese prize, having been condemned as unseaworthy, and burnt or abandoned.

land whereof we found the body of a dead man, whose flesh was clean consumed. The 21. day we entered the Strait[1], which we found to have many turnings, and as it were shuttings-up, as if there were no passage at all. By means whereof we had the wind often against us; so that some of the fleet recovering a cape or point of land, others should be forced to turn back again, and to come to an anchor where they could. In this Strait there be many fair harbours, with store of fresh water. But yet they lack their best commodity, for the water there is of such depth, that no man shall find ground to anchor in, except it be in some narrow river or corner, or between some rocks; so that if any extreme blasts or contrary winds do come, whereunto the place is much subject, it carrieth with it no small danger. The land on both sides is very huge and mountainous; the lower mountains whereof, although they be monstrous and wonderful to look upon for their height, yet there are others which in height exceed them in a strange manner, reaching themselves above their fellows so high, that between them did appear three regions of clouds. These mountains are covered with snow. At both the southerly and easterly parts of the Strait there are islands, among which the sea hath his indraught into the Straits, even as it hath in the main entrance of the frete[2]. This Strait is extreme cold, with frost and snow continually; the trees seem to stoop with the burden of the weather, and yet are green continually, and many good and sweet herbs do very plentifully grow and increase under them. The breadth of the Strait is in some places a league, in some other places two leagues and three leagues, and in some other four leagues; but the narrowest place hath a league over.

[1] Drake here changed the name of the *Pelican* to the *Golden Hind*, the crest of Sir Christopher Hatton. [2] Lat. *fretum*.

The 24. of August we arrived at an island in the Straits, where we found great store of fowl which could not fly, of the bigness of geese; whereof we killed in less than one day 3,000, and victualled ourselves throughly therewith. The 6. day of September we entered the South Sea at the cape or head shore. The 7. day we were driven by a great storm from the entering into the South Sea, 200 leagues and odd in longitude, and one degree to the southward of the Strait; in which height, and so many leagues to the westward, the 15. day of September, fell out the eclipse of the moon at the hour of six of the clock at night. But neither did the ecliptical conflict of the moon impair our state, nor her clearing again amend us a whit; but the accustomed eclipse of the sea continued in his force, we being darkened more than the moon sevenfold [1].

From the bay which we called the *Bay of Severing of Friends*, we were driven back to the southward of the Straits in 57 degrees and a tierce; in which height we came to an anchor among the islands, having there fresh and very good water, with herbs of singular virtue. Not far from hence we entered another bay, where we found people, both men and women, in their canoes naked, and ranging from one island to another to seek their meat; who entered traffic with us for such things as they had. We returning hence northward again, found the third of October three islands, in one of which was such plenty of birds as is scant credible to report. The 8. day of October we lost sight of one of our consorts [2], wherein Master *Winter* was; who, as then we supposed, was put by a storm into the Straits again.

[1] In this storm the *Marigold* went down with all hands.

[2] The *Elizabeth*. Winter, having lost sight of the Admiral, sailed home. The *Golden Hind* was thus left to pursue her voyage alone.

Which at our return home we found to be true, and he not perished, as some of our company feared. Thus being come into the height of the Straits again, we ran, supposing the coast of *Chili* to lie as the general maps have described it, namely north-west; which we found to lie and trend to the north-east and eastwards. Whereby it appeareth that this part of *Chili* hath not been truly hitherto discovered, or at the least not truly reported, for the space of twelve degrees at the least; being set down either of purpose to deceive, or of ignorant conjecture.

We continuing our course, fell the 29. of November with an island called *La Mocha*, where we cast anchor; and our General, hoising out our boat, went with ten of our company to shore. Where we found people, whom the cruel and extreme dealings of the Spaniards have forced, for their own safety and liberty, to flee from the main, and to fortify themselves in this island. We being on land, the people came down to us to the water side with show of great courtesy, bringing to us potatoes, roots, and two very fat sheep; which our General received, and gave them other things for them, and had promise to have water there. But the next day repairing again to the shore, and sending two men a-land with barrels to fill water, the people taking them for Spaniards (to whom they use to show no favour if they take them) laid violent hands on them, and, as we think, slew them. Our General seeing this, stayed here no longer, but weighed anchor, and set sail towards the coast of *Chili*. And drawing towards it, we met near to the shore an Indian in a *canoa*, who thinking us to have been Spaniards, came to us and told us, that at a place called *Santiago*, there was a great Spanish ship laden from the kingdom of *Peru*; for which good news our General gave him divers trifles. Whereof he was glad,

and went along with us and brought us to the place, which is called the port of *Valparaiso*. When we came thither we found, indeed, the ship riding at anchor, having in her eight Spaniards and three negroes; who, thinking us to have been Spaniards, and their friends, welcomed us with a drum, and made ready a *botija*[1] of wine of *Chili* to drink to us. But as soon as we were entered, one of our company called *Thomas Moon* began to lay about him, and struck one of the Spaniards, and said unto him, *Abaxo, perro!* that is in English, 'Go down, dog!' One of these Spaniards, seeing persons of that quality in those seas, all to crossed and blessed himself. But, to be short, we stowed them under hatches, all save one Spaniard, who suddenly and desperately leapt overboard into the sea, and swam ashore to the town of *Santiago*, to give them warning of our arrival.

They of the town, being not above nine households, presently fled away and abandoned the town. Our General manned his boat and the Spanish ship's boat, and went to the town; and, being come to it, we rifled it, and came to a small chapel, which we entered, and found therein a silver chalice, two cruets, and one altar-cloth, the spoil whereof our General gave to Master *Fletcher*, his minister. We found also in this town a warehouse stored with wine of *Chili* and many boards of cedar-wood; all which wine we brought away with us, and certain of the boards to burn for firewood. And so, being come aboard, we departed the haven, having first set all the Spaniards on land, saving one *John Griego*, a Greek born, whom our General carried with him as pilot to bring him into the haven of *Lima*.

When we were at sea our General rifled the ship, and found in her good store of the wine of *Chili*, and

[1] Jar.

25,000 *pesos* of very pure and fine gold of *Valdivia*, amounting in value to 37,000 ducats of Spanish money, and above. So, going on our course, we arrived next at a place called *Coquimbo*, where our General sent fourteen of his men on land to fetch water. But they were espied by the Spaniards, who came with 300 horsemen and 200 footmen, and slew one of our men with a piece. The rest came aboard in safety, and the Spaniards departed. We went on shore again and buried our man, and the Spaniards came down again with a flag of truce; but we set sail, and would not trust them. From hence we went to a certain port called *Tarapaca*; where, being landed, we found by the sea side a Spaniard lying asleep, who had lying by him thirteen bars of silver, which weighed 4,000 ducats Spanish. We took the silver and left the man. Not far from hence, going on land for fresh water, we met with a Spaniard and an Indian boy driving eight *llamas* or sheep of *Peru*, which are as big as asses; every of which sheep had on his back two bags of leather, each bag containing 50 lb. weight of fine silver. So that, bringing both the sheep and their burthen to the ships, we found in all the bags eight hundred weight of silver.

Herehence we sailed to a place called *Arica*; and, being entered the port, we found there three small barks, which we rifled, and found in one of them fifty-seven wedges of silver, each of them weighing about 20 lb. weight, and every of these wedges were of the fashion and bigness of a brickbat. In all these three barks, we found not one person. For they, mistrusting no strangers, were all gone a-land to the town, which consisteth of about twenty houses; which we would have ransacked if our company had been better and more in number. But our General, con-

tented with the spoil of the ships, left the town and put off again to sea, and set sail for *Lima*, and, by the way, met with a small bark, which he boarded, and found in her good store of linen cloth. Whereof taking some quantity, he let her go.

To *Lima* we came the 13. of February; and, being entered the haven, we found there about twelve sail of ships lying fast moored at an anchor, having all their sails carried on shore; for the masters and merchants were here most secure, having never been assaulted by enemies, and at this time feared the approach of none such as we were. Our General rifled these ships, and found in one of them a chest full of reals of plate, and good store of silks and linen cloth; and took the chest into his own ship, and good store of the silks and linen. In which ship he had news of another ship called the *Cacafuego*[1], which was gone towards *Payta*, and that the same ship was laden with treasure. Whereupon we stayed no longer here, but, cutting all the cables of the ships in the haven, we let them drive whither they would, either to sea or to the shore; and with all speed we followed the *Cacafuego* toward *Payta*, thinking there to have found her. But before we arrived there she was gone from thence towards *Panama*; whom our General still pursued, and by the way met with a bark laden with ropes and tackle for ships, which he boarded and searched, and found in her 80 lb. weight of gold, and a crucifix of gold with goodly great emeralds set in it, which he took, and some of the cordage also for his own ship. From hence we departed, still following the *Cacafuego*; and our General promised our company that whosoever should first descry her should have his chain of gold for his good news. It fortuned that *John Drake*, going

[1] 'Spitfire'.

up into the top, descried her about three of the clock. And about six of the clock we came to her and boarded her, and shot at her three pieces of ordnance, and strake down her mizen; and, being entered, we found in her great riches, as jewels and precious stones, thirteen chests full of reals of plate, fourscore pound weight of gold, and six-and-twenty ton of silver. The place where we took this prize was called *Cape de San Francisco*, about 150 leagues [south] from *Panama*. The pilot's name of this ship was *Francisco*; and amongst other plate that our General found in this ship he found two very fair gilt bowls of silver, which were the pilot's. To whom our General said, *Señor Pilot, you have here two silver cups, but I must needs have one of them*; which the pilot, because he could not otherwise choose, yielded unto, and gave the other to the steward of our General's ships. When this pilot departed from us, his boy said thus unto our General; *Captain, our ship shall be called no more the Cacafuego, but the Cacaplata, and your ship shall be called the Cacafuego.* Which pretty speech of the pilot's boy ministered matter of laughter to us, both then and long after. When our General had done what he would with this *Cacafuego*, he cast her off, and we went on our course still towards the west; and not long after met with a ship laden with linen cloth and fine *China* dishes of white earth, and great store of *China* silks, of all which things we took as we listed. The owner himself of this ship was in her, who was a Spanish gentleman[1], from whom our General took a falcon of gold, with a great emerald in the breast thereof[2]; and the pilot of the ship he took also with him, and so cast the ship off.

This pilot brought us to the haven of *Guatulco*, the

[1] Don Francisco de Zarate.

[2] Drake presented him in return with a hanger and a silver brazier.

town whereof, as he told us, had but 17 Spaniards in it. As soon as we were entered this haven, we landed, and went presently to the town and to the town-house ; where we found a judge sitting in judgment, being associated with three other officers, upon three negroes that had conspired the burning of the town. Both which judges and prisoners we took, and brought them a-shipboard, and caused the chief judge to write his letter to the town to command all the townsmen to avoid, that we might safely water there. Which being done, and they departed, we ransacked the town ; and in one house we found a pot, of the quantity of a bushel, full of reals of plate, which we brought to our ship. And here one *Thomas Moon*, one of our company, took a Spanish gentleman as he was flying out of the town ; and, searching him, he found a chain of gold about him, and other jewels, which he took, and so let him go. At this place our General, among other Spaniards, set ashore his Portugal pilot which he took at the islands of *Cape Verde* out of a ship of *St. Mary* port, of *Portugal.* And having set them ashore we departed hence, and sailed to the island of *Canno* ; where our General landed, and brought to shore his own ship, and discharged her, mended and graved her, and furnished our ship with water and wood sufficiently.

And while we were here we espied a ship and set sail after her, and took her, and found in her two pilots and a Spanish governor, going for the islands of the *Philippinas.* We searched the ship, and took some of her merchandises, and so let her go. Our General at this place and time, thinking himself, both in respect of his private injuries received from the Spaniards, as also of their contempts and indignities offered to our country and prince in general, sufficiently satisfied and revenged ; and supposing that her Majesty at his return

would rest contented with this service, purposed to continue no longer upon the Spanish coast, but began to consider and to consult of the best way for his country.

He thought it not good to return by the Straits, for two special causes; the one, lest the Spaniards should there wait and attend for him in great number and strength, whose hands, he, being left but one ship, could not possibly escape. The other cause was the dangerous situation of the mouth of the Straits in the South Sea; where continual storms reigning and blustering, as he found by experience, besides the shoals and sands upon the coast, he thought it not a good course to adventure that way. He resolved, therefore, to avoid these hazards, to go forward to the Islands of the *Malucos*, and therehence to sail the course of the Portugals by the Cape of *Buena Esperanza*. Upon this resolution he began to think of his best way to the *Malucos*, and finding himself, where he now was, becalmed, he saw that of necessity he must be forced to take a Spanish course; namely, to sail somewhat northerly to get a wind. We therefore set sail, and sailed 600 leagues at the least for a good wind; and thus much we sailed from the 16. of April till the third of June.

The fifth of June, being in 43 degrees towards the pole Arctic, we found the air so cold, that our men being grievously pinched with the same, complained of the extremity thereof; and the further we went, the more the cold increased upon us. Whereupon we thought it best for that time to seek the land, and did so; finding it not mountainous, but low plain land, till we came within 38 degrees towards the line. In which height it pleased God to send us into a fair and good bay, with a good wind to enter the same. In this bay we anchored; and the people of the country, having their

houses close by the water's side, shewed themselves unto us, and sent a present to our General. When they came unto us, they greatly wondered at the things that we brought. But our General, according to his natural and accustomed humanity, courteously intreated them, and liberally bestowed on them necessary things to cover their nakedness; whereupon they supposed us to be gods, and would not be persuaded to the contrary. The presents which they sent to our General, were feathers, and cauls of net-work. Their houses are digged round about with earth, and have from the uttermost brims of the circle, clifts of wood set upon them, joining close together at the top like a spire steeple, which by reason of that closeness are very warm. Their bed is the ground with rushes strowed on it; and lying about the house, [they] have the fire in the midst. The men go naked; the women take bulrushes, and kemb them after the manner of hemp, and thereof make their loose garments, which being knit about their middles, hang down about their hips, having also about their shoulders a skin of deer, with the hair upon it. These women are very obedient and serviceable to their husbands.

After they were departed from us, they came and visited us the second time, and brought with them feathers and bags of *tabacco* for presents. And when they came to the top of the hill, at the bottom whereof we had pitched our tents, they stayed themselves; where one appointed for speaker wearied himself with making a long oration; which done, they left their bows upon the hill, and came down with their presents. In the meantime the women, remaining upon the hill, tormented themselves lamentably, tearing their flesh from their cheeks, whereby we perceived that they were about a sacrifice. In the meantime our General with his

company went to prayer, and to reading of the Scriptures, at which exercise they were attentive, and seemed greatly to be affected with it; but when they were come unto us, they restored again unto us those things which before we bestowed upon them. The news of our being there being spread through the country, the people that inhabited round about came down, and amongst them the king himself, a man of a goodly stature, and comely personage, with many other tall and warlike men; before whose coming were sent two ambassadors to our General, to signify that their king was coming, in doing of which message, their speech was continued about half an hour. This ended, they by signs requested our General to send something by their hand to their king, as a token that his coming might be in peace. Wherein our General having satisfied them, they returned with glad tidings to their king, who marched to us with a princely majesty, the people crying continually after their manner; and as they drew near unto us, so did they strive to behave themselves in their actions with comeliness. In the fore-front was a man of a goodly personage, who bare the sceptre or mace before the king; whereupon hanged two crowns, a less and a bigger, with three chains of a marvellous length. The crowns were made of knit work, wrought artificially with feathers of divers colours. The chains were made of a bony substance, and few be the persons among them that are admitted to wear them; and of that number also the persons are stinted, as some ten, some twelve, &c. Next unto him which bare the sceptre, was the king himself, with his guard about his person, clad with coney skins, and other skins. After them followed the naked common sort of people, every one having his face painted, some with white, some with black, and other colours, and having in their hands one thing or another

for a present. Not so much as their children, but they also brought their presents.

In the meantime our General gathered his men together, and marched within his fenced place, making, against their approaching, a very warlike show. They being trooped together in their order, and a general salutation being made, there was presently a general silence. Then he that bare the sceptre before the king, being informed by another, whom they assigned to that office, with a manly and lofty voice proclaimed that which the other spake to him in secret, continuing half an hour. Which ended, and a general *Amen*, as it were, given, the king with the whole number of men and women, the children excepted, came down without any weapon; who, descending to the foot of the hill, set themselves in order. In coming towards our bulwarks and tents, the sceptre-bearer began a song, observing his measures in a dance, and that with a stately countenance; whom the king with his guard, and every degree of persons, following, did in like manner sing and dance, saving only the women, which danced and kept silence. The General permitted them to enter within our bulwark, where they continued their song and dance a reasonable time. When they had satisfied themselves, they made signs to our General to sit down; to whom the king and divers others made several orations, or rather supplications, that he would take their province and kingdom into his hand, and become their king, making signs that they would resign unto him their right and title of the whole land, and become his subjects. In which, to persuade us the better, the king and the rest, with one consent, and with great reverence, joyfully singing a song, did set the crown upon his head, enriched his neck with all their chains, and offered him many other things, honouring him by

the name of *Hioh*, adding thereunto, as it seemed, a sign of triumph; which thing our General thought not meet to reject, because he knew not what honour and profit it might be to our country. Wherefore in the name, and to the use of her Majesty, he took the sceptre, crown, and dignity of the said country into his hands, wishing that the riches and treasure thereof might so conveniently be transported to the enriching of her kingdom at home, as it aboundeth in the same.

The common sort of people, leaving the king and his guard with our General, scattered themselves together with their sacrifices among our people, taking a diligent view of every person: and such as pleased their fancy (which were the youngest), they enclosing them about offered their sacrifices unto them with lamentable weeping, scratching and tearing their flesh from their faces with their nails, whereof issued abundance of blood. But we used signs to them of disliking this, and stayed their hands from force, and directed them upwards to the living God, whom only they ought to worship. They shewed unto us their wounds, and craved help of them at our hands; whereupon we gave them lotions, plaisters, and ointments agreeing to the state of their griefs, beseeching God to cure their diseases. Every third day they brought their sacrifices unto us, until they understood our meaning, that we had no pleasure in them; yet they could not be long absent from us, but daily frequented our company to the hour of our departure, which departure seemed so grievous unto them, that their joy was turned into sorrow. They entreated us, that being absent we would remember them, and by stealth provided a sacrifice, which we misliked.

Our necessary business being ended, our General with his company travelled up into the country to their

villages, where we found herds of deer by a thousand in a company, being most large, and fat of body. We found the whole country to be a warren of a strange kind of coneys; their bodies in bigness as be the *Barbary* coneys, their heads as the heads of ours, the feet of a want[1], and the tail of a rat, being of great length. Under her chin is on either side a bag, into the which she gathereth her meat, when she hath filled her belly abroad. The people eat their bodies, and make great account of their skins, for their king's coat was made of them. Our General called this country *Nova Albion*, and that for two causes; the one in respect of the white banks and cliffs, which lie towards the sea, and the other, because it might have some affinity with our country in name, which sometime was so called. There is no part of earth here to be taken up, wherein there is not some probable show of gold or silver.

At our departure hence our General set up a monument of our being there, as also of her Majesty's right and title to the same; namely a plate, nailed upon a fair great post, whereupon was engraved her Majesty's name, the day and year of our arrival there, with the free giving up of the province and people into her Majesty's hands, together with her Highness' picture and arms, in a piece of six pence of current English money, under the plate, whereunder was also written the name of our General.

It seemeth that the Spaniards hitherto had never been in this part of the country, neither did ever discover the land by many degrees to the southwards of this place.

After we had set sail from hence, we continued without sight of land till the 13. day of October following, which day in the morning we fell with certain

[1] Mole.

islands eight degrees to the northward of the line, from which islands came a great number of *canoas*, having in some of them four, in some six, and in some also fourteen men, bringing with them cocos and other fruits. Their *canoas* were hollow within, and cut with great art and cunning, being very smooth within and without, and bearing a glass [1] as if it were a horn daintily burnished, having a prow and a stern of one sort, yielding inward circle-wise, being of a great height, and full of certain white shells for a bravery; and on each side of them lie out two pieces of timber about a yard and a half long, more or less, according to the smallness or bigness of the boat. These people have the nether part of their ears cut into a round circle, hanging down very low upon their cheeks, whereon they hang things of a reasonable weight. The nails of their hands are an inch long, their teeth are as black as pitch, and they renew them often, by eating of an herb with a kind of powder, which they always carry about them in a cane for the same purpose.

Leaving this island the night after we fell with it, the 18. of October we lighted upon divers others, some whereof made a great show of inhabitants. We continued our course by the islands of *Tagulanda* [2], *Zelon*, and *Zewarra*, being friends to the Portugals, the first whereof hath growing in it great store of cinnamon. The 14. of November we fell in with the islands of *Maluco*. Which day at night (having directed our course to run with *Tidore*) in coasting along the island of *Mutyr* [3], belonging to the king of *Ternate*, his deputy or vice-king seeing us at sea, came with his *canoa* to us without all fear, and came aboard; and after some

[1] I. e. having a gloss.
[2] Tagulandang, to the north-east of Celebes.
[3] Motir, one of the Ternate Moluccas.

conference with our General, willed him in any wise to run in with *Ternate*, and not with *Tidore*, assuring him that the king would be glad of his coming, and would be ready to do what he would require, for which purpose he himself would that night be with the king, and tell him the news. With whom if he once dealt, we should find that as he was a king, so his word should stand; adding further, that if he went to *Tidore* before he came to *Ternate*, the king would have nothing to do with us, because he held the Portugal as his enemy. Whereupon our General resolved to run with *Ternate*. Where the next morning early we came to anchor; at which time our General sent a messenger to the king, with a velvet cloak for a present and token of his coming to be in peace, and that he required nothing but traffic and exchange of merchandise, whereof he had good store, in such things as he wanted.

In the meantime the vice-king had been with the king according to his promise, signifying unto him what good things he might receive from us by traffic. Whereby the king was moved with great liking towards us, and sent to our General, with special message, that he should have what things he needed and would require, with peace and friendship; and moreover that he would yield himself and the right of his island to be at the pleasure and commandment of so famous a prince as we served. In token whereof he sent to our General a signet; and within short time after came in his own person, with boats and *canoas*, to our ship, to bring her into a better and safer road than she was in at that present. In the meantime, our General's messenger, being come to the Court, was met by certain noble personages with great solemnity, and brought to the king, at whose hands he was most friendly and graciously entertained.

The king, purposing to come to our ship, sent before four great and large *canoas*, in every one whereof were certain of his greatest states[1] that were about him, attired in white lawn of cloth of *Calicut*, having over their heads, from the one end of the *canoa* to the other, a covering of thin perfumed mats, borne up with a frame made of reeds for the same use; under which every one did sit in his order according to his dignity, to keep him from the heat of the sun; divers of whom being of good age and gravity, did make an ancient and fatherly show. There were also divers young and comely men attired in white, as were the others; the rest were soldiers, which stood in comely order round about on both sides. Without whom sat the rowers in certain galleries; which being three on a side all along the *canoas*, did lie off from the side thereof three or four yards, one being orderly builded lower than another, in every of which galleries were the number of fourscore rowers. These *canoas* were furnished with warlike munition, every man for the most part having his sword and target, with his dagger, beside other weapons, as lances, calivers, darts, bows and arrows; also every *canoa* had a small cast base mounted at the least one full yard upon a stock set upright. Thus coming near our ship, in order, they rowed about us one after another, and passing by, did their homage with great solemnity; the great personages beginning with great gravity and fatherly countenances, signifying that the king had sent them to conduct our ship into a better road. Soon after the king himself repaired, accompanied with six grave and ancient persons, who did their obeisance with marvellous humility. The king was a man of tall stature, and seemed to be much delighted with the sound of our music; to whom, as also to his nobility, our General

[1] States = men of property or estate.

gave presents, wherewith they were passing well contented.

At length the king craved leave of our General to depart, promising the next day to come aboard, and in the meantime to send us such victuals as were necessary for our provision. So that the same night we received of them meal, which they call *sagu*, made of the tops of certain trees, tasting in the mouth like sour curds, but melteth like sugar, whereof they make certain cakes, which may be kept the space of ten years, and yet then good to be eaten. We had of them store of rice, hens, unperfect and liquid sugar, sugar-canes, and a fruit which they call *figo*[1], with store of cloves.

The king having promised to come aboard, brake his promise, but sent his brother to make his excuse, and to entreat our General to come on shore, offering himself pawn aboard for his safe return. Whereunto our General consented not, upon mislike conceived of the breach of his promise; the whole company also utterly refusing it. But to satisfy him, our General sent certain of his gentlemen to the Court, to accompany the king's brother, reserving the vice-king for their safe return. They were received of another brother of the king's, and other states, and were conducted with great honour to the castle. The place that they were brought unto was a large and fair house, where were at the least a thousand persons assembled.

The king being yet absent, there sat in their places 60 grave personages, all which were said to be of the king's council. There were besides four grave persons, apparelled all in red, down to the ground, and attired on their heads like the Turks; and these were said to be Romans[2] and ligiers[3] there to keep continual traffic with the people of *Ternate*. There were also two Turks

[1] Plantains. [2] Probably Greeks (Arab. *Rumi*). [3] Resident agents.

ligiers in this place, and one Italian. The king at last came in guarded with twelve lances, covered over with a rich canopy with embossed gold. Our men, accompanied with one of their captains called *Moro*, rising to meet him, he graciously did welcome and entertain them. He was attired after the manner of the country, but more sumptuously than the rest. From his waist down to the ground was all cloth of gold, and the same very rich; his legs were bare, but on his feet were a pair of shoes, made of *Cordovan* skin. In the attire of his head were finely wreathed hooped rings of gold, and about his neck he had a chain of perfect gold, the links whereof were great, and one fold double. On his fingers he had six very fair jewels; and sitting in his chair of state, at his right hand stood a page with a fan in his hand, breathing and gathering the air to the king. The same was in length two foot, and in breadth one foot, set with eight sapphires, richly embroidered, and knit to a staff three foot in length, by the which the page did hold and move it. Our gentlemen having delivered their message and received order accordingly, were licensed to depart, being safely conducted back again by one of the king's council. This island is the chief of all the islands of *Maluco*, and the king hereof is king of 70 islands besides. The king with his people are Moors in religion, observing certain new moons, with fastings; during which fasts they neither eat nor drink in the day, but in the night.

After that our gentlemen were returned, and that we had here by the favour of the king received all necessary things that the place could yield us; our General considering the great distance, and how far he was yet off from his country, thought it not best here to linger the time any longer, but weighing his anchors, set out of the island, and sailed to a certain little island to the south-

wards of *Celebes*, where we graved our ship, and continued there, in that and other businesses, 26 days. This island is throughly grown with wood of a large and high growth, very straight, and without boughs, save only in the head or top, whose leaves are not much differing from our broom in *England*. Amongst these trees night by night, through the whole land, did shew themselves an infinite swarm of fiery worms flying in the air, whose bodies being no bigger than our common English flies, make such a show and light as if every twig or tree had been a burning candle. In this place breedeth also wonderful store of bats, as big as large hens. Of cray-fishes also here wanted no plenty, and they of exceeding bigness, one whereof was sufficient for four hungry stomachs at a dinner, being also very good and restoring meat, whereof we had experience: and they dig themselves holes in the earth like coneys.

When we had ended our business here we weighed, and set sail to run for the *Malucos*. But having at that time a bad wind, and being amongst the islands, with much difficulty we recovered to the northward of the island of *Celebes*; where by reason of contrary winds, not able to continue our course to run westwards, we were enforced to alter the same to the southward again, finding that course also to be very hard and dangerous for us, by reason of infinite shoals which lie off and among the islands; whereof we had too much trial, to the hazard and danger of our ship and lives. For, of all other days, upon the 9. of January, in the year 1579[1], we ran suddenly upon a rock, where we stuck fast from eight of the clock at night till four of the clock in the afternoon the next day, being indeed out of all hope to escape the danger. But our General, as he had always

[1] I. e. 1580.

hitherto shewed himself courageous, and of a good confidence in the mercy and protection of God, so now he continued in the same. And lest he should seem to perish wilfully, both he and we did our best endeavour to save ourselves; which it pleased God so to bless, that in the end we cleared ourselves most happily of the danger.

We lighted our ship upon the rocks of three ton of cloves, eight pieces of ordnance, and certain meal and beans; and then the wind, as it were in a moment by the special grace of God, changing from the starboard to the larboard of the ship, we hoised our sails, and the happy gale drove our ship off the rock into the sea again, to the no little comfort of all our hearts, for which we gave God such praise and thanks, as so great a benefit required.

The 8. of February following, we fell with the fruitful island of *Barateve*[1], having in the mean time suffered many dangers by winds and shoals. The people of this island are comely in body and stature, and of a civil behaviour, just in dealing, and courteous to strangers; whereof we had the experience sundry ways, they being most glad of our presence, and very ready to relieve our wants in those things which their country did yield. The men go naked, saving their heads and † loins, every man having something or other hanging at their ears. Their women are covered from the middle down to the foot, wearing a great number of bracelets upon their arms; for some had eight upon each arm, being made some of bone, some of horn, and some of brass, the lightest whereof, by our estimation, weighed two ounces apiece. With this people linen-cloth is good merchandise, and of good request; whereof they make rolls for their heads, and girdles to

[1] Batjan.

wear about them. Their island is both rich and fruitful; rich in gold, silver, copper, and sulphur, wherein they seem skilful and expert, not only to try the same, but in working it also artificially into any form and fashion that pleaseth them. Their fruits be divers and plentiful; as nutmegs, ginger, long pepper, lemons, cucumbers, cocos, *figu*, *sagu*, with divers other sorts. And among all the rest we had one fruit, in bigness, form and husk, like a bay berry, hard of substance and pleasant of taste, which being sodden becometh soft, and is a most good and wholesome victual; whereof we took reasonable store, as we did also of the other fruits and spices. So that to confess a truth, since the time that we first set out of our own country of *England*, we happened upon no place, *Ternate* only excepted, wherein we found more comforts and better means of refreshing.

At our departure from *Barateve*, we set our course for *Java Major*[1]; where arriving, we found great courtesy, and honourable entertainment. This island is governed by five kings, whom they call *Rajah*; as *Rajah Donaw*, and *Rajah Mang Bange*, and *Rajah Cabuccapollo*, which live as having one spirit and one mind. Of these five we had four a-shipboard at once, and two or three often. They are wonderfully delighted in coloured clothes, as red and green; the upper part of their bodies are naked, save their heads, whereupon they wear a Turkish roll as do the *Maluccians*. From the middle downward they wear a *pintado* of silk, trailing upon the ground, in colour as they best like. The *Maluccians* hate that their women should be seen of strangers; but these offer them of high courtesy, yea, the kings themselves. The people are of goodly stature and warlike, well provided of swords and targets, with

[1] Java.

daggers, all being of their own work, and most artificially done, both in tempering their metal, as also in the form; whereof we bought reasonable store. They have an house in every village for their common assembly; every day they meet twice, men, women, and children, bringing with them such victuals as they think good, some fruits, some rice boiled, some hens roasted, some *sagu*, having a table made three foot from the ground, whereon they set their meat, that every person sitting at the table may eat, one rejoicing in the company of another. They boil their rice in an earthen pot, made in form of a sugar loaf, being full of holes, as our pots which we water our gardens withal, and it is open at the great end, wherein they put their rice dry, without any moisture. In the mean time they have ready another great earthen pot, set fast in a furnace, boiling full of water, whereinto they put their pot with rice, by such measure, that they swelling become soft at the first, and by their swelling stopping the holes of the pot, admit no more water to enter, but the more they are boiled, the harder and more firm substance they become. So that in the end they are a firm and good bread, of the which with oil, butter, sugar, and other spices, they make divers sorts of meats very pleasant of taste, and nourishing to nature. * * * Not long before our departure, they told us that not far off there were such great ships as ours, wishing us to beware; upon this our captain would stay no longer. From *Java Major* we sailed for the Cape of *Good Hope*, which was the first land we fell withal; neither did we touch with it, or any other land, until we came to *Sierra Leona*, upon the coast of *Guinea*; notwithstanding we ran hard aboard the cape, finding the report of the Portugals to be most false, who affirm that it is the most dangerous cape of the world, never without intolerable

storms and present danger to travellers which come near the same. This cape is a most stately thing, and the fairest cape we saw in the whole circumference of the earth, and we passed by it the 18. of June. From thence we continued our course to *Sierra Leona*, on the coast of *Guinea*, where we arrived the 22. of July, and found necessary provisions, great store of elephants, oysters upon trees of one kind [1], spawning and increasing infinitely, the oyster suffering no bud to grow. We departed thence the four and twentieth day.

We arrived in *England* the third of November, 1580, being the third year of our departure.

[1] The mangrove.

DRAKE'S GREAT ARMADA (1585).

NEARLY five years elapsed between Drake's return from his Famous Voyage and the despatch of the formidable armament commemorated in the following pages. During the last of these years the march of events had been remarkably rapid. Gilbert, who had been empowered by Elizabeth, in the year of Frobisher's last expedition, to found colonies in America, had sailed for that purpose to Newfoundland (1583), and had perished at sea on his way homeward. Raleigh, who had succeeded to his half-brother's enterprises, had despatched his exploring expedition to 'Virginia,' under Amadas and Barlow, in 1584, and had followed it up in the next year (1585) by an actual colony. In April Sir Richard Greenville sailed from Plymouth, and at Raleigh's expense established above a hundred colonists on the island of Roanoak. Drake's Great Armada left Plymouth in September of the same year. It marked a turning-point in the relations between the English and Spanish monarchs. Elizabeth, knowing that the suppression of the insurrection in the Netherlands would be followed by an attack upon England, was treating with the insurgents. Philip deemed it prudent to lay an embargo on all her subjects, together with their ships and goods, that might be found in his dominions. Elizabeth at once authorized general reprisals on the ships and goods of Spaniards. A company of adventurers was quickly formed for taking advantage of this permission on a scale commensurate with the national resources. They equipped an armada of twenty-five vessels, manned by 2,300 men, and despatched it under the command of Drake to plunder Spanish America. Frobisher was second in command. Two-thirds of the booty were to belong to the adventurers; the remaining third was to be divided among the men employed in the expedition.

Drake's armament of 1585 was the greatest that had ever crossed the Atlantic. After plundering some vessels at the Vigo river, he sailed for the West Indies by way of the Canaries and Cape Verde Islands, hoisted the English flag over Santiago and burnt the town, crossed the Atlantic in eighteen days, and arrived at Dominica. At daybreak, on New Year's Day, 1586, Drake's soldiers landed in Española, a few miles to the west of the capital, and before evening Carlile and Powell had entered the city, which the colonists only saved from destruction by the payment of a heavy ransom. Drake's plan was to do exactly the same at Carthagena and Nombre de Dios, and thence to strike across the isthmus and secure the treasure that lay waiting for transport at Panama. Drake held St. Domingo for a month, and Carthagena for six weeks. He was compelled to forego the further prosecution of his enterprise. A deadly fever, which had attacked the men during the sojourn at Santiago, still continued its ravages. In existing circumstances, even had Nombre de Dios been successfully attacked, the march to Panama was out of the question; and after consultation with the military commanders, Drake resolved on sailing home at once by way of Florida. He brought back with him all the colonists who had been left by Sir Richard Greenville in 'Virginia.' Drake had offered either to furnish them with stores, and to leave them a ship, or to take them home. The former offer was accepted: but a furious storm which ensued caused them to change their minds. They recognized in it the hand of God, whose will it evidently was that they should no longer be sojourners in the American wilderness; and the first English settlement of 'Virginia' was abandoned accordingly.

Ten years afterwards (1595) Drake was again at the head of a similar expedition. The second command was given to his old associate Hawkins, Frobisher, his Vice-Admiral in 1585, having recently died of the wound received at Crozon. This time Nombre de Dios was taken and burnt, and 750 soldiers set out under Sir Thomas Baskerville to march to Panama: but at the first of the three forts which the Spaniards had by this time constructed, the march had to be

abandoned. Drake did not long survive this second failure of his favourite scheme. He was attacked by dysentery a fortnight afterwards, and in a month he died. When he felt the hand of death upon him, he rose, dressed himself, and endeavoured to make a farewell speech to those around him. Exhausted by the effort, he was lifted to his berth, and within an hour breathed his last. Hawkins had died off Puerto Rico six weeks previously.

The following narrative is in the main the composition of Walter Biggs, who commanded a company of musketeers under Carlile. Biggs was one of the five hundred and odd men who succumbed to the fever. He died shortly after the fleet sailed from Carthagena; and the narrative was completed by some comrade. The story of this expedition, which had inflicted such damaging blows on the Spaniards in America, was eminently calculated to inspire courage among those who were resisting them in Europe. Cates, one of Carlile's lieutenants, obtained the manuscript and prepared it for the press, accompanied by illustrative maps and plans. The publication was delayed by the Spanish Armada; but a copy found its way to Holland, where it was translated into Latin, and appeared at Leyden, in a slightly abridged form, in 1588. The original English narrative duly appeared in London in the next year. The document called the 'Resolution of the Land-Captains' was inserted by Hakluyt when he reprinted the narrative in 1600.

DRAKE'S GREAT ARMADA.

[NARRATIVE MAINLY BY CAPTAIN WALTER BIGGS.]

A Summary and True Discourse of SIR FRANCIS DRAKE'S *West Indian Voyage, begun in the year 1585. Wherein were taken the cities of* SANTIAGO, SANTO DOMINGO, CARTHAGENA, *and the town of* ST. AUGUSTINE, *in* FLORIDA. *Published by* MASTER THOMAS CATES.

THIS worthy knight, for the service of his prince and country, having prepared his whole fleet, and gotten them down to *Plymouth*, in *Devonshire*, to the number of five and twenty sail of ships and pinnaces, and having assembled of soldiers and mariners to the number of 2,300 in the whole, embarked them and himself at *Plymouth* aforesaid, the 12. day of September, 1585, being accompanied with these men of name and charge which hereafter follow: Master *Christopher Carlile*, Lieutenant-General, a man of long experience in the wars as well by sea as land, who had formerly carried high offices in both kinds in many fights, which he discharged always very happily, and with great good reputation; *Anthony Powell*, Sergeant-Major; Captain *Matthew Morgan*, and Captain *John Sampson*, Corporals of the Field. These officers had commandment over the rest of the land-captains, whose names hereafter follow: Captain *Anthony Platt*, Captain *Edward Winter*, Captain *John Goring*, Captain *Robert Pew*, Captain *George Barton*, Captain *John Merchant*, Captain *William Cecil*, Captain *Walter Biggs*[1], Captain *John Hannam*,

[1] The writer of the first part of the narrative.

Captain *Richard Stanton.* Captain *Martin Frobisher*, Vice-Admiral, a man of great experience in seafaring actions, who had carried the chief charge of many ships himself, in sundry voyages before, being now shipped in the *Primrose*; Captain *Francis Knolles*, Rear-Admiral, in the galleon *Leicester*; Master *Thomas Venner*, captain in the *Elizabeth Bonadventure*, under the General; Master *Edward Winter*, captain in the *Aid*; Master *Christopher Carlile*, the Lieutenant-General, captain of the *Tiger*; *Henry White*, captain of the *Sea-Dragon*; *Thomas Drake*[1], captain of the *Thomas*; *Thomas Seeley*, captain of the *Minion*; *Baily*, captain of the bark *Talbot*; *Robert Cross*, captain of the bark *Bond*; *George Fortescue*, captain of the bark *Bonner*; *Edward Careless*, captain of the *Hope*; *James Erizo*, captain of the *White Lion*; *Thomas Moon*, captain of the *Francis*; *John Rivers*, captain of the *Vantage*; *John Vaughan*, captain of the *Drake*; *John Varney*, captain of the *George*; *John Martin*, captain of the *Benjamin*; *Edward Gilman*, captain of the *Scout*; *Richard Hawkins*, captain of the galliot called the *Duck*; *Bitfield*, captain of the *Swallow*.

After our going hence, which was the 14. of September, in the year of our Lord 1585, and taking our course towards *Spain*, we had the wind for a few days somewhat scant, and sometimes calm. And being arrived near that part of *Spain* which is called the *Moors*[2], we happened to espy divers sails, which kept their course close by the shore, the weather being fair and calm. The General caused the Vice-Admiral to go with the pinnaces well manned to see what they were; who upon sight of the said pinnaces approaching near unto them, abandoned for the most part all their ships, being Frenchmen, laden all with salt, and bound homewards

[1] Francis Drake's brother. [2] Muros, S. of Cape Finisterre.

into *France*. Amongst which ships, being all of small burthen, there was one so well liked, which also had no man in her, as being brought unto the General, he thought good to make stay of her for the service, meaning to pay for her, as also accordingly he performed at our return; which bark was called the *Drake*. The rest of these ships, being eight or nine, were dismissed without anything at all taken from them. Who being afterwards put somewhat farther off from the shore, by the contrariety of the wind, we happened to meet with some other French ships, full laden with *Newland* fish, being upon their return homeward from the said *Newfoundland*; whom the General after some speech had with them, and seeing plainly that they were Frenchmen, dismissed, without once suffering any man to go aboard of them.

The day following, standing in with the shore again, we descried another tall ship of twelve score tons or thereabouts, upon whom *Master Carlile*, the Lieutenant-General, being in the *Tiger*, undertook the chase; whom also anon after the Admiral followed. And the *Tiger* having caused the said strange ship to strike her sails, kept her there without suffering anybody to go aboard until the Admiral was come up; who forthwith sending for the master, and divers others of their principal men, and causing them to be severally examined, found the ship and goods to be belonging to the inhabitants of *St. Sebastian*, in *Spain*, but the mariners to be for the most part belonging to *St. John de Luz*, and the *Passage*[1]. In this ship was great store of dry *Newland* fish, commonly called with us *Poor John*; whereof afterwards, being thus found a lawful prize, there was distribution made into all the ships of the fleet, the same being so new and good, as it did very greatly

[1] Pasages, E. of San Sebastian.

bestead us in the whole course of our voyage. A day or two after the taking of this ship we put in within the Isles of *Bayon*[1], for lack of favourable wind. Where we had no sooner anchored some part of the fleet, but the General commanded all the pinnaces with the shipboats to be manned, and every man to be furnished with such arms as were needful for that present service; which being done, the General put himself into his galley, which was also well furnished, and rowing towards the city of *Bayon*, with intent, and the favour of the Almighty, to surprise it. Before we had advanced one half-league of our way there came a messenger, being an English merchant, from the governor, to see what strange fleet we were; who came to our General, conferred a while with him, and after a small time spent, our General called for Captain *Sampson*, and willed him to go to the governor of the city, to resolve him of two points. The first, to know *if there were any wars between Spain and England*; the second, *why our merchants with their goods were embarged or arrested?* Thus departed Captain *Sampson* with the said messenger to the city, where he found the governor and people much amazed of such a sudden accident. The General, with the advice and counsel of Master *Carlile*, his Lieutenant-General, who was in the galley with him, thought not good to make any stand, till such time as they were within the shot of the city, where they might be ready upon the return of Captain *Sampson*, to make a sudden attempt, if cause did require, before it were dark.

Captain *Sampson* returned with his message in this sort:—First, touching peace or wars, the governor said *he knew of no wars, and that it lay not in him to make any, he being so mean a subject as he was. And as for the stay of the merchants with their goods, it was the king's pleasure,*

[1] The Cies Islets, at the mouth of the Vigo River.

but not with intent to endamage any man. And that the king's counter-commandment was (which had been received in that place some seven-night before) *that English merchants with their goods should be discharged.* For the more verifying whereof, he sent such merchants as were in the town of our nation, who trafficked those parts; which being at large declared to our General by them, counsel was taken what might best be done. And for that the night approached, it was thought needful to land our forces, which was done in the shutting up of the day; and having quartered ourselves to our most advantage, with sufficient guard upon every strait, we thought to rest ourselves for that night there. The Governor sent us some refreshing, as bread, wine, oil, apples, grapes, marmalade, and such like. About midnight the weather began to overcast, insomuch that it was thought meeter to repair aboard, than to make any longer abode on land. And before we could recover the fleet a great tempest arose, which caused many of our ships to drive from their anchor-hold, and some were forced to sea in great peril, as the bark *Talbot*, the bark *Hawkins*, and the *Speedwell*; which *Speedwell* only was driven into England, the others recovered us again. The extremity of the storm lasted three days; which no sooner began to assuage, but Master *Carlile*, our Lieutenant-General, was sent with his own ship and three others, as also with the galley and with divers pinnaces, to see what he might do above *Vigo*, where he took many boats and some carvels, diversely laden with things of small value, but chiefly with household stuff, running into the high country. And amongst the rest he found one boat laden with the principal church stuff of the high church of *Vigo*, where also was their great cross of silver, of very fair embossed work, and double-gilt all over, having cost them a great

mass of money. They complained to have lost in all kinds of goods above thirty thousand ducats in this place.

The next day the General with his whole fleet went from up the Isles of *Bayon* to a very good harbour above *Vigo*, where Master *Carlile* stayed his coming, as well for the more quiet riding of his ships, as also for the good commodity of fresh watering which the place there did afford full well. In the meantime the governor of *Galicia* had reared such forces as he might (his numbers by estimate were some 2000 foot and 300 horse), and marched from *Bayona* to this part of the country, which lay in sight of our fleet; where, making a stand, he sent to parley with our General. Which was granted by our General, so it might be in boats upon the water; and for safety of their persons there were pledges delivered on both sides. Which done, the governor of *Galicia* put himself with two others into our Vice-Admiral's skiff, the same having been sent to the shore for him, and in like sort our General went in his own skiff. Where by them it was agreed we should furnish ourselves with fresh water, to be taken by our own people quietly on the land, and have all other such necessaries, paying for the same, as the place would afford.

When all our business was ended we departed, and took our way by the Islands of *Canaria*, which are esteemed some 300 leagues from this part of *Spain*; and falling purposely with *Palma*, with intention to have taken our pleasure of that place, for the full digesting of many things into order, and the better furnishing our store with such several good things as it affordeth very abundantly, we were forced by the vile sea-gate, which at that present fell out, and by the naughtiness of the landing-place, being but one, and that under the

favour of many platforms well furnished with great ordnance, to depart with the receipt of many of their cannon-shot, some into our ships and some besides, some of them being in very deed full cannon high. But the only or chief mischief was the dangerous sea-surge, which at shore all alongst plainly threatened the overthrow of as many pinnaces and boats as for that time should have attempted any landing at all.

Now seeing the expectation of this attempt frustrated by the causes aforesaid, we thought it meeter to fall with the Isle *Ferro*, to see if we could find any better fortune; and coming to the island we landed a thousand men in a valley under a high mountain, where we stayed some two or three hours. In which time the inhabitants, accompanied with a young fellow born in *England*, who dwelt there with them, came unto us, shewing their state to be so poor that they were all ready to starve, which was not untrue; and therefore without anything gotten, we were all commanded presently to embark, so as that night we put off to sea south-south-east along towards the coast of *Barbary*.

Upon Saturday in the morning, being the 13. of November, we fell with *Cape Blank*, which is a low land and shallow water, where we catched store of fish; and doubling the cape, we put into the bay, where we found certain French ships of war, whom we entertained with great courtesy, and there left them. This afternoon the whole fleet assembled, which was a little scattered about their fishing, and put from thence to the Isles of *Cape Verde*, sailing till the 16. of the same month in the morning; on which day we descried the Island of *Santiago*. And in the evening we anchored the fleet between the town called the *Playa* or *Praya* and *Santiago*; where we put on shore 1000 men or more, under the leading of Master

Christopher Carlile, Lieutenant-General, who directed the service most like a wise commander. The place where we had first to march did afford no good order, for the ground was mountainous and full of dales, being a very stony and troublesome passage; but such was his industrious disposition, as he would never leave, until we had gotten up to a fair plain, where we made stand for the assembling of the army. And when we were all gathered together upon the plain, some two miles from the town, the Lieutenant-General thought good not to make attempt till daylight, because there was not one that could serve for guide or giving knowledge at all of the place. And therefore after having well rested, even half an hour before day, he commanded the army to be divided into three special parts, such as he appointed, whereas before we had marched by several companies, being thereunto forced by the badness of the way as is aforesaid. Now by the time we were thus ranged into a very brave order, daylight began to appear. And being advanced hard to the wall, we saw no enemy to resist. Whereupon the Lieutenant-General appointed Captain *Sampson* with thirty shot[1], and Captain *Barton* with other thirty, to go down into the town, which stood in the valley under us, and might very plainly be viewed all over from that place where the whole army was now arrived; and presently after these captains was sent the great ensign, which had nothing in it but the plain English cross, to be placed towards the sea, that our fleet might see *St. George's* cross flourish in the enemy's fortress. Order was given that all the ordnance throughout the town and upon all the platforms, which were about fifty pieces all ready charged, should be shot off in honour of the Queen's Majesty's coronation day, being the 17. of November, after the yearly custom of

[1] Musketeers.

England, which was so answered again by the ordnance out of all the ships in the fleet, which now was come near, as it was strange to hear such a thundering noise last so long together. In this mean while the Lieutenant-General held still the most part of his force on the hill-top, till such time as the town was quartered out for the lodging of the whole army. Which being done, every captain took his own quarter; and in the evening was placed such a sufficient guard upon every part of the town that we had no cause to fear any present enemy. Thus we continued in the city the space of fourteen days, taking such spoils as the place yielded, which were, for the most part, wine, oil, meal, and some other such like things for victual, as vinegar, olives, and some other trash, as merchandise for their Indian trades. But there was not found any treasure at all, or anything else of worth besides.

The situation of *Santiago* is somewhat strange; in form like a triangle, having on the east and west sides two mountains of rock and cliff, as it were hanging over it; upon the top of which two mountains were builded certain fortifications to preserve the town from any harm that might be offered, as in a plot is plainly shewed. From thence on the south side of the town is the main sea; and on the north side, the valley lying between the foresaid mountains, wherein the town standeth. The said valley and town both do grow very narrow; insomuch that the space between the two cliffs of this end of the town is estimated not to be above ten or twelve score [yards] over. In the midst of the valley cometh down a riveret, rill, or brook of fresh water, which hard by the seaside maketh a pond or pool, whereout our ships were watered with very great ease and pleasure. Somewhat above the town on the north side, between the two mountains, the valley waxeth somewhat larger

than at the town's end; which valley is wholly converted into gardens and orchards, well replenished with divers sorts of fruits, herbs, and trees, as lemons, oranges, sugar-canes, *cocars* or cocos nuts, plantains, potato-roots, cucumbers, small and round onions, garlic, and some other things not now remembered. Amongst which the cocos nuts and plantains are very pleasant fruits; the said cocos hath a hard shell and a green husk over it, as hath our walnut, but it far exceedeth in greatness, for this cocos in his green husk is bigger than any man's two fists. Of the hard shell many drinking cups are made here in *England*, and set in silver as I have often seen. Next within this hard shell is a white rind resembling in show very much, even as any thing may do, to the white of an egg when it is hard boiled. And within this white of the nut lieth a water, which is whitish and very clear, to the quantity of half a pint or thereabouts; which water and white rind before spoken of are both of a very cool fresh taste, and as pleasing as anything may be. I have heard some hold opinion that it is very restorative. The plantain groweth in cods, somewhat like to beans, but is bigger and longer, and much more thick together on the stalk; and when it waxeth ripe, the meat which filleth the rind of the cod becometh yellow, and is exceeding sweet and pleasant.

In this time of our being there happened to come a Portugal to the western fort, with a flag of truce. To whom Captain *Sampson* was sent with Captain *Goring*; who coming to the said messenger, he first asked them, *What nation they were?* they answered, *Englishmen.* He then required to know *if wars were between England and Spain*; to which they answered, *that they knew not, but if he would go to their General he could best resolve him of such particulars.* And for his assurance of passage and repassage these captains made offer to engage their

credits, which he refused for that he was not sent from his governor. Then they told him if his governor did desire to take a course for the common benefit of the people and country his best way were to come and present himself unto our noble and merciful governor, Sir *Francis Drake*, whereby he might be assured to find favour, both for himself and the inhabitants. Otherwise within three days we should march over the land, and consume with fire all inhabited places, and put to the sword all such living souls as we should chance upon. So thus much he took for the conclusion of his answer. And departing, he promised to return the next day; but we never heard more of him.

Upon the 24. of November, the General, accompanied with the Lieutenant-General and 600 men, marched forth to a village twelve miles within the land, called *Saint Domingo*, where the governor and the bishop, with all the better sort, were lodged; and by eight of the clock we came to it, finding the place abandoned, and the people fled into the mountains. So we made stand a while to ease ourselves, and partly to see if any would come to speak to us. After we had well rested ourselves, the General commanded the troops to march away homewards. In which retreat the enemy shewed themselves, both horse and foot, though not such force as durst encounter us; and so in passing some time at the gaze with them, it waxed late and towards night before we could recover home to *Santiago*.

On Monday, the 26. of November, the General commanded all the pinnaces with the boats to use all diligence to embark the army into such ships as every man belonged. The Lieutenant-General in like sort commanded Captain *Goring* and Lieutenant *Tucker*, with one hundred shot, to make a stand in the market-place until our forces were wholly embarked; the Vice-

Admiral making stay with his pinnace and certain boats in the harbour, to bring the said last company aboard the ships. Also the General willed forthwith the galley with two pinnaces to take into them the company of Captain *Barton*, and the company of Captain *Biggs*, under the leading of Captain *Sampson*, to seek out such munition as was hidden in the ground, at the town of *Praya*, or *Playa*, having been promised to be shewed it by a prisoner which was taken the day before.

The captains aforesaid coming to the *Playa*, landed their men; and having placed the troop in their best strength, Captain *Sampson* took the prisoner, and willed him to show that he had promised. The which he could not, or at least would not; but they searching all suspected places, found two pieces of ordnance, one of iron, another of brass. In the afternoon the General anchored with the rest of the fleet before the *Playa*, coming himself ashore, willing us to burn the town and make all haste aboard; the which was done by six of the clock the same day, and ourselves embarked again the same night. And so we put off to sea south-west.

But before our departure from the town of *Santiago*, we established orders for the better government of the army. Every man mustered to his captain, and oaths were ministered, to acknowledge her Majesty supreme Governor, as also every man to do his uttermost endeavour to advance the service of the action, and to yield due obedience unto the directions of the General and his officers. By this provident counsel, and laying down this good foundation beforehand, all things went forward in a due course, to the achieving of our happy enterprise.

In all the time of our being here, neither the governor for the said King of *Spain*, which is a Portugal, neither the bishop, whose authority is great, neither the inhabitants of the town, or island, ever came

at us; which we expected they should have done, to entreat us to leave them some part of their needful provisions, or at the least to spare the ruining of their town at our going away. The cause of this their unreasonable distrust, as I do take it, was the fresh remembrance of the great wrongs that they had done to old Master *William Hawkins*, of *Plymouth*, in the voyage he made four or five years before, whenas they did both break their promise, and murdered many of his men; whereof I judge you have understood, and therefore it is needless to be repeated. But since they came not at us, we left written in sundry places, as also in the Spital House (which building was only appointed to be spared), the great discontentment and scorn we took at this their refraining to come unto us, as also at the rude manner of killing, and savage kind of handling the dead body of one of our boys found by them straggling all alone, from whom they had taken his head and heart, and had straggled the other bowels about the place, in a most brutish and beastly manner. In revenge whereof at our departing we consumed with fire all the houses, as well in the country which we saw, as in the town of *Santiago*.

From hence putting off to the *West Indies*, we were not many days at sea but there began among our people such mortality as in a few days there were dead above two or three hundred men. And until some seven or eight days after our coming from *Santiago*, there had not died any one man of sickness in all the fleet. The sickness showed not his infection, wherewith so many were strucken, until we were departed thence; and then seized our people with extreme hot burning and continual agues, whereof very few escaped with life, and yet those for the most part not without great alteration and decay of their wits and strength for

a long time after. In some that died were plainly shown the small spots which are often found upon those that be infected with the plague. We were not above eighteen days in passage between the sight of *Santiago* aforesaid, and the island of *Dominica*, being the first island of the *West Indies* that we fell withal; the same being inhabited with savage people, which go all naked, their skin coloured with some painting of a reddish tawny, very personable and handsome strong men, who do admit little conversation with the Spaniards; for, as some of our people might understand them, they had a Spaniard or twain prisoners with them. Neither do I think that there is any safety for any of our nation, or any other, to be within the limits of their commandment; albeit they used us very kindly for those few hours of time which we spent with them, helping our folks to fill and carry on their bare shoulders fresh water from the river to our ships' boats, and fetching from their houses great store of *tabacco*, as also a kind of bread which they fed on, called *cassavi*, very white and savoury, made of the roots of *cassavi*. In recompense whereof we bestowed liberal rewards of glass, coloured beads, and other things, which we had found at *Santiago*; wherewith, as it seemed, they rested very greatly satisfied, and shewed some sorrowful countenance when they perceived that we would depart.

From hence we went to another island westward of it, called *Saint Christopher's* Island; wherein we spent some days of Christmas, to refresh our sick people, and to cleanse and air our ships. In which island were not any people at all that we could hear of.

In which time by the General it was advised and resolved, with the consent of the Lieutenant-General, the Vice-Admiral, and all the rest of the captains,

to proceed to the great island of *Hispaniola*, as well for that we knew ourselves then to be in our best strength, as also the rather allured thereunto by the glorious fame of the city of *St. Domingo*, being the ancientest and chief inhabited place in all the tract of country thereabouts. And so proceeding in this determination, by the way we met a small frigate, bound for the same place, the which the Vice-Admiral took; and having duly examined the men that were in her, there was one found by whom we were advertised the haven to be a barred haven, and the shore or land thereof to be well fortified, having a castle thereupon furnished with great store of artillery, without the danger whereof was no convenient landing-place within ten English miles of the city, to which the said pilot took upon him to conduct us.

All things being thus considered on, the whole forces were commanded in the evening to embark themselves in pinnaces, boats, and other small barks appointed for this service. Our soldiers being thus embarked, the General put himself into the bark *Francis* as Admiral; and all this night we lay on the sea, bearing small sail until our arrival to the landing-place, which was about the breaking of the day. And so we landed, being New Year's Day, nine or ten miles to the westwards of that brave city of *St. Domingo*; for at that time nor yet is known to us any landing-place, where the sea-surge doth not threaten to overset a pinnace or boat. Our General having seen us all landed in safety, returned to his fleet, bequeathing us to God, and the good conduct of Master *Carlile*, our Lieutenant-General; at which time, being about eight of the clock, we began to march. And about noon-time, or towards one of the clock, we approached the town; where the gentlemen and those of the better sort, being some

hundred and fifty brave horses, or rather more, began to present themselves. But our small shot played upon them, which were so sustained with good proportion of pikes in all parts, as they finding no part of our troop unprepared to receive them (for you must understand they viewed all round about) they were thus driven to give us leave to proceed towards the two gates of the town which were the next to the seaward. They had manned them both, and planted their ordnance for that present and sudden alarm without the gate, and also some troops of small shot in *ambuscado* upon the highway side. We divided our whole force, being some thousand or twelve hundred men, into two parts, to enterprise both the gates at one instant; the Lieutenant-General having openly vowed to Captain *Powell*, who led the troop that entered the other gate, that with God's good favour he would not rest until our meeting in the market-place.

Their ordnance had no sooner discharged upon our near approach, and made some execution amongst us, though not much, but the Lieutenant-General began forthwith to advance both his voice of encouragement and pace of marching; the first man that was slain with the ordnance being very near unto himself; and thereupon hasted all that he might, to keep them from the recharging of the ordnance. And notwithstanding their *ambuscados*, we marched or rather ran so roundly into them, as pell-mell we entered the gates, and gave them more care every man to save himself by flight, than reason to stand any longer to their broken fight. We forthwith repaired to the market-place, but to be more truly understood, a place of very spacious square ground; whither also came, as had been agreed, Captain *Powell* with the other troop. Which place with some

part next unto it, we strengthened with *barricados*, and there as the most convenient place assured ourselves, the city being far too spacious for so small and weary a troop to undertake to guard. Somewhat after midnight, they who had the guard of the castle, hearing us busy about the gates of the said castle, abandoned the same; some being taken prisoners, and some fleeing away by the help of boats to the other side of the haven, and so into the country.

The next day we quartered a little more at large, but not into the half part of the town; and so making substantial trenches, and planting all the ordnance, that each part was correspondent to other, we held this town the space of one month.

In the which time happened some accidents, more than are well remembered for the present. But amongst other things, it chanced that the General sent on his message to the Spaniards a negro boy with a flag of white, signifying truce, as is the Spanish ordinary manner to do there, when they approach to speak to us; which boy unhappily was first met withal by some of those who had been belonging as officers for the king in the Spanish galley, which with the town was lately fallen into our hands. Who, without all order or reason, and contrary to that good usage wherewith we had entertained their messengers, furiously struck the poor boy thorough the body with one of their horsemen's staves; with which wound the boy returned to the General, and after he had declared the manner of this wrongful cruelty, died forthwith in his presence. Wherewith the General being greatly passioned, commanded the provost-marshal to cause a couple of friars, then prisoners, to be carried to the same place where the boy was strucken, accompanied with sufficient guard of our soldiers, and there presently to be hanged,

despatching at the same instant another poor prisoner, with this reason wherefore this execution was done, and with this message further, that until the party who had thus murdered the General's messenger were delivered into our hands to receive condign punishment, there should no day pass wherein there should not two prisoners be hanged, until they were all consumed which were in our hands. Whereupon the day following, he that had been captain of the king's galley brought the offender to the town's end, offering to deliver him into our hands. But it was thought to be a more honourable revenge to make them there, in our sight, to perform the execution themselves; which was done accordingly.

During our being in this town, as formerly also at *Santiago* there had passed justice upon the life of one of our own company for an odious matter, so here likewise was there an Irishman hanged for the murdering of his corporal.

In this time also passed many treaties between their commissioners and us, for ransom of their city; but upon disagreements we still spent the early mornings in firing the outmost houses; but they being built very magnificently of stone, with high lofts, gave us no small travail to ruin them. And albeit for divers days together we ordained each morning by daybreak, until the heat began at nine of the clock, that two hundred mariners did naught else but labour to fire and burn the said houses without our trenches, whilst the soldiers in a like proportion stood forth for their guard; yet did we not, or could not in this time consume so much as one-third part of the town, which town is plainly described and set forth in a certain map. And so in the end, what wearied with firing, and what hastened by some other respects, we were contented to accept

of 25,000 ducats of five shillings six-pence the piece, for the ransom of the rest of the town.

Amongst other things which happened and were found at *St. Domingo*, I may not omit to let the world know one very notable mark and token of the unsatiable ambition of the Spanish king and his nation, which was found in the king's house, wherein the chief governor of that city and country is appointed always to lodge, which was this. In the coming to the hall or other rooms of this house, you must first ascend up by a fair large pair of stairs, at the head of which stairs is a handsome spacious place to walk in, somewhat like unto a gallery. Wherein, upon one of the walls, right over against you as you enter the said place, so as your eye cannot escape the sight of it, there is described and painted in a very large scutcheon the arms of the King of *Spain*; and in the lower part of the said scutcheon there is likewise described a globe, containing in it the whole circuit of the sea and the earth, whereupon is a horse standing on his hinder part within the globe, and the other fore-part without the globe, lifted up as it were to leap, with a scroll painted in his mouth, wherein was written these words in Latin, NON SUFFICIT ORBIS, which is as much to say as, *The world sufficeth not.* Whereof the meaning was required to be known of some of those of the better sort that came in commission to treat upon the ransom of the town; who would shake their heads and turn aside their countenance, in some smiling sort, without answering anything, as greatly ashamed thereof. For by some of our company it was told them, that if the Queen of *England* would resolutely prosecute the wars against the King of *Spain*, he should be forced to lay aside that proud and unreasonable reaching vein of his; for he should find more than enough to do to keep that

which he had already, as by the present example of their lost town they might for a beginning perceive well enough.

Now to the satisfying of some men, who marvel greatly that such a famous and goodly-builded city, so well inhabited of gallant people, very brave in their apparel (whereof our soldiers found good store for their relief), should afford no greater riches than was found there. Herein it is to be understood that the Indian people, which were the natives of this whole island of *Hispaniola* (the same being near hand as great as *England*), were many years since clean consumed by the tyranny of the Spaniards; which was the cause that, for lack of people to work in the mines, the gold and silver mines of this island are wholly given over. And thereby they are fain in this island to use copper money, whereof was found very great quantity. The chief trade of this place consisteth of sugar and ginger, which groweth in the island, and of hides of oxen and kine, which in this waste country of the island are bred in infinite numbers, the soil being very fertile. And the said beasts are fed up to a very large growth, and so killed for nothing so much as for their hides aforesaid. We found here great store of strong wine, sweet oil, vinegar, olives, and other such-like provisions, as excellent wheat-meal packed up in wine-pipes and other cask, and other commodities likewise, as woollen and linen cloth and some silks; all which provisions are brought out of *Spain*, and served us for great relief. There was but a little plate or vessel of silver, in comparison of the great pride in other things of this town, because in these hot countries they use much of those earthen dishes finely painted or varnished, which they call *porcellana*, which is had out of the East *India*; and for their drinking they use glasses altogether, whereof

they make excellent good and fair in the same place. But yet some plate we found, and many other good things, as their household garniture, very gallant and rich, which had cost them dear, although unto us they were of small importance.

From *St. Domingo* we put over to the main or firm land, and, going all along the coast, we came at last in sight of *Carthagena*, standing upon the seaside, so near as some of our barks in passing alongst approached within the reach of their culverin shot, which they had planted upon certain platforms. The harbour-mouth lay some three miles toward the westward of the town, whereinto we entered at about three or four of the clock in the afternoon without any resistance of ordnance or other impeachment planted upon the same. In the evening we put ourselves on land towards the harbour-mouth, under the leading of Master *Carlile*, our Lieutenant-General. Who, after he had digested us to march forward about midnight, as easily as foot might fall, expressly commanded us to keep close by the sea-wash of the shore for our best and surest way; whereby we were like to go through, and not to miss any more of the way, which once we had lost within an hour after our first beginning to march, through the slender knowledge of him that took upon him to be our guide, whereby the night spent on, which otherwise must have been done by resting. But as we came within some two miles of the town, their horsemen, which were some hundred, met us, and, taking the alarm, retired to their townward again upon the first volley of our shot that was given them; for the place where we encountered being woody and bushy, even to the water-side, was unmeet for their service.

At this instant we might hear some pieces of artillery discharged, with divers small shot, towards the harbour;

which gave us to understand, according to the order set down in the evening before by our General, that the Vice-Admiral, accompanied with Captain *Venner*, Captain *White*, and Captain *Cross*, with other sea captains, and with divers pinnaces and boats, should give some attempt unto the little fort standing on the entry of the inner haven, near adjoining to the town, though to small purpose, for that the place was strong, and the entry, very narrow, was chained over; so as there could be nothing gotten by the attempt more than the giving of them an alarm on that other side of the haven, being a mile and a-half from the place we now were at. In which attempt the Vice-Admiral had the rudder of his skiff strucken through with a saker[1] shot, and a little or no harm received elsewhere.

The troops being now in their march, half-a-mile behither the town or less, the ground we were on grew to be strait, and not above fifty paces over, having the main sea on the one side of it and the harbour-water or inner sea (as you may term it) on the other side, which in the plot is plainly shewed. This strait was fortified clean over with a stone wall and a ditch without it, the said wall being as orderly built, with flanking in every part, as can be set down. There was only so much of this strait unwalled as might serve for the issuing of the horsemen or the passing of carriage in time of need. But this unwalled part was not without a very good *barricado* of wine-butts or pipes, filled with earth, full and thick as they might stand on end one by another, some part of them standing even within the main sea. This place of strength was furnished with six great pieces, demiculverins[2] and sakers, which shot directly in front upon us as we approached. Now without this wall, upon the inner side of the strait, they had brought

[1] Bore 3½ inches, shot 5 lb. [2] Bore 4½ inches, shot 9 lb.

likewise two great galleys with their prows to the shore, having planted in them eleven pieces of ordnance, which did beat all cross the strait, and flanked our coming on. In these two galleys were planted three or four hundred small shot, and on the land, in the guard only of this place, three hundred shot and pikes.

They, in this their full readiness to receive us, spared not their shot both great and small. But our Lieutenant-General, taking the advantage of the dark (the daylight as yet not broken out) approached by the lowest ground, according to the express direction which himself had formerly given, the same being the sea-wash shore, where the water was somewhat fallen, so as most of all their shot was in vain. Our Lieutenant-General commanded our shot to forbear shooting until we were come to the wall-side. And so with pikes roundly together we approached the place, where we soon found out the *barricados* of pipes or butts to be the meetest place for our assault; which, notwithstanding it was well furnished with pikes and shots, was without staying attempted by us. Down went the butts of earth, and pell-mell came our swords and pikes together, after our shot had first given their volley, even at the enemy's nose. Our pikes were somewhat longer than theirs, and our bodies better armed; for very few of them were armed. With which advantage our swords and pikes grew too hard for them, and they driven to give place. In this furious entry the Lieutenant-General slew with his own hands the chief ensign-bearer of the Spaniards, who fought very manfully to his life's end.

We followed into the town with them, and, giving them no leisure to breathe, we won the market-place, albeit they made head and fought awhile before we got it. And so we being once seized and assured of that, they were content to suffer us to lodge within their

town, and themselves to go to their wives, whom they had carried into other places of the country before our coming thither. At every street's end they had raised very fine *barricados* of earth-works, with trenches without them, as well made as ever we saw any work done; at the entering whereof was some little resistance, but soon overcome it was, with few slain or hurt. They had joined with them many Indians, whom they had placed in corners of advantage, all bowmen, with their arrows most villainously empoisoned, so as if they did but break the skin, the party so touched died without great marvel. Some they slew of our people with their arrows; some they likewise mischiefed to death with certain pricks of small sticks sharply pointed, of a foot and a-half long, the one end put into the ground, the other empoisoned, sticking fast up, right against our coming in the way as we should approach from our landing towards the town, whereof they had planted a wonderful number in the ordinary way; but our keeping the sea-wash shore missed the greatest part of them very happily.

I overpass many particular matters, as the hurting of Captain *Sampson* at sword blows in the first entering, unto whom was committed the charge of the pikes of the vant-guard by his lot and turn; as also of the taking of *Alonzo Bravo*, the chief commander of that place, by Captain *Goring*, after the said captain had first hurt him with his sword; unto which captain was committed the charge of the shot of the said vant-guard. Captain *Winter* was likewise by his turn of the vant-guard in this attempt, where also the Lieutenant-General marched himself; the said Captain *Winter*, through a great desire to serve by land, having now exchanged his charge at sea with Captain *Cecil* for his band of footmen. Captain *Powell*, the Serjeant-Major, had by his turn the charge

of the four companies which made the battle. Captain *Morgan*, who at *St. Domingo* was of the vant-guard, had now by turn his charge upon the companies of the rearward. Every man, as well of one part as of another, came so willingly on to the service, as the enemy was not able to endure the fury of such hot assault.

We stayed here six weeks, and the sickness with mortality before spoken of still continued among us, though not with the same fury as at the first; and such as were touched with the said sickness, escaping death, very few or almost none could recover their strength. Yea, many of them were much decayed in their memory, insomuch that it was grown an ordinary judgment, when one was heard to speak foolishly, to say he had been sick of the *calentura*, which is the Spanish name of their burning ague; for, as I told you before, it is a very burning and pestilent ague. The original cause thereof is imputed to the evening or first night air, which they term *la serena*; wherein they say and hold very firm opinion that whoso is then abroad in the open air shall certainly be infected to the death, not being of the Indian or natural race of those country people. By holding their watch our men were thus subjected to the infectious air, which at *Santiago* was most dangerous and deadly of all other places.

With the inconvenience of continual mortality we were forced to give over our intended enterprise to go with *Nombre de Dios*, and so overland to *Panama*, where we should have strucken the stroke for the treasure, and full recompense of our tedious travails. And thus at *Carthagena* we took our first resolution to return homewards, the form of which resolution I thought good here to put down under the principal captains' hands as followeth :—

A RESOLUTION *of the* LAND-CAPTAINS, *what course they think most expedient to be taken. Given at* CARTHAGENA, *the 27. of February, 1585.*

WHEREAS it hath pleased the General to demand the opinions of his captains what course they think most expedient to be now undertaken, the land-captains being assembled by themselves together, and having advised hereupon, do in three points deliver the same.

THE FIRST, touching the keeping of the town against the force of the enemy, either that which is present, or that which may come out of Spain, is answered thus :—

'We hold opinion, that with this troop of men which we have presently with us in land service, being victualled and munitioned, we may well keep the town, albeit that of men able to answer present service we have not above 700. The residue, being some 150 men, by reason of their hurts and sickness, are altogether unable to stand us in any stead: wherefore hereupon the sea-captains are likewise to give their resolution, how they will undertake the safety and service of the ships upon the arrival of any Spanish fleet.'

THE SECOND point we make to be this, whether it be meet to go presently homeward, or else to continue further trial of our fortune in undertaking such like enterprises as we have done already, and thereby to seek after that bountiful mass of treasure for recompense of our travails, which was generally expected at our coming forth of *England*: wherein we answer :—

'That it is well known how both we and the soldiers are entered into this action as voluntary men, without any impress or gage from her Majesty or anybody else. And forasmuch as we have hitherto discharged the parts of honest men, so that now by the great blessing and favour of our good God there have been taken three such notable towns, wherein by the estimation of all men would have been found some very great treasures, knowing that *Santiago* was the chief city of all the islands

and traffics thereabouts, *St. Domingo* the chief city of Hispaniola, and the head government not only of that island, but also of *Cuba*, and of all the islands about it, as also of such inhabitations of the firm land, as were next unto it, and a place that is both magnificently built and entertaineth great trades of merchandise; and now lastly the city of *Carthagena*, which cannot be denied to be one of the chief places of most especial importance to the Spaniard of all the cities which be on this side of the *West India*: we do therefore consider, that since all these cities, with their goods and prisoners taken in them, and the ransoms of the said cities, being all put together, are found far short to satisfy that expectation which by the generality of the enterprisers was first conceived; and being further advised of the slenderness of our strength, whereunto we be now reduced, as well in respect of the small number of able bodies, as also not a little in regard of the slack disposition of the greater part of those which remain, very many of the better minds and men being either consumed by death or weakened by sickness and hurts; and lastly, since that as yet there is not laid down to our knowledge any such enterprise as may seem convenient to be undertaken with such few as we are presently able to make, and withal of such certain likelihood, as with God's good success which it may please him to bestow upon us, the same may promise to yield us any sufficient contentment: we do therefore conclude hereupon, that it is better to hold sure as we may the honour already gotten, and with the same to return towards our gracious sovereign and country, from whence, if it shall please her Majesty to set us forth again with her orderly means and entertainment, we are most ready and willing to go through with anything that the uttermost of our strength and endeavour shall be able to reach unto. But therewithal we do advise and protest that it is far from our thoughts, either to refuse, or so much as to seem to be weary of anything, which for the present shall be further required or directed to be done by us from our General.'

THE THIRD and last point is concerning the ransom of this city of *Carthagena*, for the which, before

it was touched with any fire, there was made an offer of some £27,000 or £28,000 sterling :—

'Thus much we utter herein as our opinions, agreeing, so it be done in good sort, to accept this offer aforesaid, rather than to break off by standing still upon our demands of £100,000 ; which seems a matter impossible to be performed for the present by them. And to say truth, we may now with much honour and reputation better be satisfied with that sum offered by them at the first, if they will now be contented to give it, than we might at that time with a great deal more ; inasmuch as we have taken our full pleasure, both in the uttermost sacking and spoiling of all their household goods and merchandise, as also in that we have consumed and ruined a great part of their town with fire. And thus much further is considered herein by us ; that as there be in the voyage a great many poor men, who have willingly adventured their lives and travails, and divers amongst them having spent their apparel and such other little provisions as their small means might have given them leave to prepare, which being done upon such good and allowable intention as this action hath always carried with it (meaning, against the Spaniard, our greatest and most dangerous enemy), so surely we cannot but have an inward regard, so far as may lie in us, to help them in all good sort towards the satisfaction of this their expectation ; and by procuring them some little benefit to encourage them, and to nourish this ready and willing disposition of theirs, both in them and in others by their example, against any other time of like occasion. But because it may be supposed that herein we forget not the private benefit of ourselves, and are thereby the rather moved to incline ourselves to this composition, we do therefore think good for the clearing ourselves of all such suspicion, to declare hereby, that what part or portion soever it be of this ransom or composition for *Carthagena* which should come unto us, we do freely give and bestow the same wholly upon the poor men who have remained with us in the voyage (meaning as well the sailor as the soldier), wishing with all our hearts it were such or so much as might see a sufficient reward for their painful endeavour. And

for the firm confirmation thereof, we have thought meet to subsign these presents with our own hands in the place and time aforesaid.

'Captain *Christopher Carlile*, Lieutenant-General; Captain *Goring*, Captain *Sampson*, Captain *Powell*, &c.'

But while we were yet there, it happened one day that our watch called the sentinel, upon the church-steeple, had discovered in the sea a couple of small barks or boats, making in with the harbour of *Carthagena*. Whereupon Captain *Moon* and Captain *Varney*, with *John Grant*, the master of the *Tiger*, and some other seamen, embarked themselves in a couple of small pinnaces, to take them before they should come nigh the shore, at the mouth of the harbour, lest by some straggling Spaniards from the land, they might be warned by signs from coming in. Which fell out accordingly, notwithstanding all the diligence that our men could use: for the Spanish boats, upon the sight of our pinnaces coming towards them, ran themselves ashore, and so their men presently hid themselves in bushes hard by the sea-side, amongst some others that had called them by signs thither. Our men presently without any due regard had to the quality of the place, and seeing no man of the Spaniards to shew themselves, boarded the Spanish barks or boats, and so standing all open in them, were suddenly shot at by a troop of Spaniards out of the bushes; by which volley of shot there were slain Captain *Varney*, which died presently, and Captain *Moon*, who died some few days after, besides some four or five others that were hurt: and so our folks returned without their purpose, not having any sufficient number of soldiers with them to fight on shore. For those men they carried were all mariners to row, few of them armed, because they made account with their ordnance to have taken the barks well

enough at sea; which they might full easily have done, without any loss at all, if they had come in time to the harbour mouth, before the Spaniards' boats had gotten so near the shore.

During our abode in this place, as also at *St. Domingo*, there passed divers courtesies between us and the Spaniards, as feasting, and using them with all kindness and favour; so as amongst others there came to see the General the governor of *Carthagena*, with the bishop of the same, and divers other gentlemen of the better sort. This town of *Carthagena* we touched in the out parts, and consumed much with fire, as we had done *St. Domingo*, upon discontentments, and for want of agreeing with us in their first treaties touching their ransom; which at the last was concluded between us should be 110,000 ducats for that which was yet standing, the ducat valued at five shillings sixpence sterling.

This town, though not half so big as *St. Domingo*, gives, as you see, a far greater ransom, being in very deed of far more importance, by reason of the excellency of the harbour, and the situation thereof to serve the trade of *Nombre de Dios* and other places, and is inhabited with far more richer merchants. The other is chiefly inhabited with lawyers and brave gentlemen, being the chief or highest appeal of their suits in law of all the islands about it and of the mainland coast next unto it. And it is of no such account as *Carthagena*, for these and some like reasons which I could give you, over long to be now written.

The warning which this town received of our coming towards them from *St. Domingo*, by the space of 20 days before our arrival here, was cause that they had both fortified and every way prepared for their best defence. As also that they had carried and conveyed away all their treasure and principal substance.

The ransom of 110,000 ducats thus concluded on, as is aforesaid, the same being written, and expressing for nothing more than the town of *Carthagena*, upon the payment of the said ransom we left the said town and drew some part of our soldiers into the priory or abbey, standing a quarter of an English mile below the town upon the harbour water-side, the same being walled with a wall of stone; which we told the Spaniards was yet ours, and not redeemed by their composition. Whereupon they, finding the defect of their contract, were contented to enter into another ransom for all places, but specially for the said house, as also the blockhouse or castle, which is upon the mouth of the inner harbour. And when we asked as much for the one as for the other, they yielded to give a thousand crowns for the abbey, leaving us to take our pleasure upon the blockhouse, which they said they were not able to ransom, having stretched themselves to the uttermost of their powers; and therefore the said blockhouse was by us undermined, and so with gunpowder blown up in pieces. While this latter contract was in making, our whole fleet of ships fell down towards the harbour-mouth, where they anchored the third time and employed their men in fetching of fresh water aboard the ships for our voyage homewards, which water was had in a great well that is in the island by the harbour-mouth. Which island is a very pleasant place as hath been seen, having in it many sorts of goodly and very pleasant fruits, as the orange-trees and others, being set orderly in walks of great length together. Insomuch as the whole island, being some two or three miles about, is cast into grounds of gardening and orchards.

After six weeks' abode in this place, we put to sea the last of March; where, after two or three days, a great ship which we had taken at *St. Domingo*, and thereupon

was called *The New Year's Gift*, fell into a great leak, being laden with ordnance, hides, and other spoils, and in the night she lost the company of our fleet. Which being missed the next morning by the General, he cast about with the whole fleet, fearing some great mischance to be happened unto her, as in very deed it so fell out; for her leak was so great that her men were all tired with pumping. But at the last, having found her, and the bark *Talbot* in her company, which stayed by great hap with her, they were ready to take their men out of her for the saving of them. And so the General, being fully advertised of their great extremity, made sail directly back again to *Carthagena* with the whole fleet; where, having staid eight or ten days more about the unlading of this ship and the bestowing thereof and her men into other ships, we departed once again to sea, directing our course toward the Cape *St. Anthony*, being the westermost part of *Cuba*, where we arrived the 27. of April. But because fresh water could not presently be found, we weighed anchor and departed, thinking in few days to recover the *Matanzas*, a place to the eastward of *Havana*.

After we had sailed some fourteen days we were brought to Cape *St. Anthony* again through lack of favourable wind; but then our scarcity was grown such as need make us look a little better for water, which we found in sufficient quantity, being indeed, as I judge, none other than rain-water newly fallen and gathered up by making pits in a plot of marish ground some three hundred paces from the seaside.

I do wrong if I should forget the good example of the General at this place, who, to encourage others, and to hasten the getting of fresh water aboard the ships, took no less pain himself than the meanest; as also at *St. Domingo*, *Carthagena*, and all other places, having

always so vigilant a care and foresight in the good ordering of his fleet, accompanying them, as it is said, with such wonderful travail of body, as doubtless had he been the meanest person, as he was the chiefest, he had yet deserved the first place of honour; and no less happy do we account him for being associated with Master *Carlile*, his Lieutenant-General, by whose experience, prudent counsel, and gallant performance he achieved so many and happy enterprises of the war, by whom also he was very greatly assisted in setting down the needful orders, laws, and course of justice, and the due administration of the same upon all occasions.

After three days spent in watering our ships, we departed now the second time from this Cape of *St. Anthony* the 13. of May. And proceeding about the Cape of *Florida*, we never touched anywhere; but coasting alongst *Florida*, and keeping the shore still in sight, the 28. of May, early in the morning, we descried on the shore a place built like a beacon, which was indeed a scaffold upon four long masts raised on end for men to discover to the seaward, being in the latitude of thirty degrees, or very near thereunto. Our pinnaces manned and coming to the shore, we marched up alongst the river-side to see what place the enemy held there; for none amongst us had any knowledge thereof at all.

Here the General took occasion to march with the companies himself in person, the Lieutenant-General having the vant-guard; and, going a mile up, or somewhat more, by the river-side, we might discern on the other side of the river over against us a fort which newly had been built by the Spaniards; and some mile, or thereabout, above the fort was a little town or village without walls, built of wooden houses, as the plot doth

plainly shew. We forthwith prepared to have ordnance for the battery; and one piece was a little before the evening planted, and the first shot being made by the Lieutenant-General himself at their ensign, strake through the ensign, as we afterwards understood by a Frenchman which came unto us from them. One shot more was then made, which struck the foot of the fort wall, which was all massive timber of great trees like masts. The Lieutenant-General was determined to pass the river this night with four companies, and there to lodge himself entrenched as near the fort as that he might play with his muskets and smallest shot upon any that should appear, and so afterwards to bring and plant the battery with him; but the help of mariners for that sudden to make trenches could not be had, which was the cause that this determination was remitted until the next night.

In the night the Lieutenant-General took a little rowing skiff and half a dozen well armed, as Captain *Morgan* and Captain *Sampson*, with some others, besides the rowers, and went to view what guard the enemy kept, as also to take knowledge of the ground. And albeit he went as covertly as might be, yet the enemy, taking the alarm, grew fearful that the whole force was approaching to the assault, and therefore with all speed abandoned the place after the shooting of some of their pieces. They thus gone, and he being returned unto us again, but nothing knowing of their flight from their fort, forthwith came a Frenchman[1], being a fifer (who had been prisoner with them) in a little boat, playing on his fife the tune of the Prince of *Orange* his song. And being called unto by the guard, he told them before he

[1] Nicolas Borgoignon. The 'Prince of Orange's Song' was a popular ditty in praise of William Prince of Orange (assassinated 1584), the leader of the Dutch Protestant insurgents.

put foot out of the boat what he was himself, and how the Spaniards were gone from the fort; offering either to remain in hands there, or else to return to the place with them that would go.

Upon this intelligence the General, the Lieutenant-General, with some of the captains in one skiff and the Vice-Admiral with some others in his skiff, and two or three pinnaces furnished of soldiers with them, put presently over towards the fort, giving order for the rest of the pinnaces to follow. And in our approach some of the enemy, bolder than the rest, having stayed behind their company, shot off two pieces of ordnance at us; but on shore we went, and entered the place without finding any man there.

When the day appeared, we found it built all of timber, the walls being none other than whole masts or bodies of trees set upright and close together in manner of a pale, without any ditch as yet made, but wholly intended with some more time. For they had not as yet finished all their work, having begun the same some three or four months before; so as, to say the truth, they had no reason to keep it, being subject both to fire and easy assault.

The platform whereon the ordnance lay was whole bodies of long pine-trees, whereof there is great plenty, laid across one on another and some little earth amongst. There were in it thirteen or fourteen great pieces of brass ordnance and a chest unbroken up, having in it the value of some two thousand pounds sterling, by estimation, of the king's treasure, to pay the soldiers of that place, who were a hundred and fifty men.

The fort thus won, which they called *St. John's Fort*, and the day opened, we assayed to go to the town, but could not by reason of some rivers and broken ground

which was between the two places. And therefore being enforced to embark again into our pinnaces, we went thither upon the great main river, which is called, as also the town, by the name of *St. Augustine.* At our approaching to land, there were some that began to shew themselves, and to bestow some few shot upon us, but presently withdrew themselves. And in their running thus away, the Sergeant-Major finding one of their horses ready saddled and bridled, took the same to follow the chase; and so overgoing all his company, was by one laid behind a bush shot through the head; and falling down therewith, was by the same and two or three more, stabbed in three or four places of his body with swords and daggers, before any could come near to his rescue. His death was much lamented, being in very deed an honest wise gentleman, and soldier of good experience, and of as great courage as any man might be.

In this place called *St. Augustine* we understood the king did keep, as is before said, 150 soldiers, and at another place some dozen leagues beyond to the northwards, called *St. Helena,* he did there likewise keep 150 more, serving there for no other purpose than to keep all other nations from inhabiting any part of all that coast; the government whereof was committed to one *Pedro Melendez,* marquis, nephew to that *Melendez* the Admiral, who had overthrown Master *John Hawkins* in the Bay of Mexico some 17 or 18 years ago. This governor had charge of both places, but was at this time in this place, and one of the first that left the same.

Here it was resolved in full assembly of captains, to undertake the enterprise of *St. Helena,* and from thence to seek out the inhabitation of our English countrymen in *Virginia,* distant from thence some six degrees north-

ward. When we came thwart of *St. Helena*, the shoals appearing dangerous, and we having no pilot to undertake the entry, it was thought meetest to go hence alongst. For the Admiral had been the same night in four fathom and a half, three leagues from the shore; and yet we understood, by the help of a known pilot, there may and do go in ships of greater burden and draught than any we had in our fleet. We passed thus along the coast hard aboard the shore, which is shallow for a league or two from the shore, and the same is low and broken land for the most part. The ninth of June upon sight of one special great fire (which are very ordinary all alongst this coast, even from the Cape of *Florida* hither) the General sent his skiff to the shore, where they found some of our English countrymen that had been sent thither the year before by Sir *Walter Raleigh*, and brought them aboard; by whose direction we proceeded along to the place which they make their port. But some of our ships being of great draught, unable to enter, anchored without the harbour in a wild road at sea, about two miles from shore. From whence the General wrote letters to Master *Ralph Lane*, being governor of those English in *Virginia*, and then at his fort about six leagues from the road in an island which they called *Roanoac*; wherein especially he shewed how ready he was to supply his necessities and wants, which he understood of by those he had first talked withal.

The morrow after, Master *Lane* himself and some of his company coming unto him, with the consent of his captains he gave them the choice of two offers, that is to say: either he would leave a ship, a pinnace, and certain boats with sufficient masters and mariners, together furnished with a month's victual, to stay and make further discovery of the country and coasts, and so much

victual likewise as might be sufficient for the bringing of them all (being an hundred and three persons) into *England*, if they thought good after such time, with any other thing they would desire, and that he might be able to spare: or else, if they thought they had made sufficient discovery already, and did desire to return into *England*, he would give them passage. But they, as it seemed, being desirous to stay, accepted very thankfully and with great gladness that which was offered first. Whereupon the ship being appointed and received into charge by some of their own company sent into her by Master *Lane*, before they had received from the rest of the fleet the provision appointed them, there arose a great storm (which they said was extraordinary and very strange) that lasted three days together, and put all our fleet in great danger to be driven from their anchoring upon the coast; for we brake many cables, and lost many anchors; and some of our fleet which had lost all, of which number was the ship appointed for Master *Lane* and his company, were driven to put to sea in great danger, in avoiding the coast, and could never see us again until we met in *England*. Many also of our small pinnaces and boats were lost in this storm.

Notwithstanding, after all this, the General offered them, with consent of his captains, another ship with some provisions, although not such a one for their turns as might have been spared them before, this being unable to be brought into their harbour: or else, if they would, to give them passage into *England*, although he knew he should perform it with greater difficulty than he might have done before. But Master *Lane*, with those of the chiefest of his company which he had then with him, considering what should be best for them to do, made request unto the General under their hands, that

they might have passage for *England*: the which being granted, and the rest sent for out of the country and shipped, we departed from that coast the 18. of June. And so, God be thanked, both they and we in good safety arrived at *Portsmouth* the 28. of July, 1586, to the great glory of God, and to no small honour to our Prince, our country, and ourselves. The total value of that which was got in this voyage is esteemed at three score thousand pounds, whereof the companies which have travailed in the voyage were to have twenty thousand pounds, the adventurers the other forty. Of which twenty thousand pounds (as I can judge) will redound some six pounds to the single share. We lost some 750 men in the voyage; above three parts of them only by sickness. The men of name that died and were slain in this voyage, which I can presently call to remembrance, are these:—Captain *Powell*, Captain *Varney*, Captain *Moon*, Captain *Fortescue*, Captain *Biggs*, Captain *Cecil*, Captain *Hannam*, Captain *Greenfield*; *Thomas Tucker*, a lieutenant; *Alexander Starkey*, a lieutenant; Master *Escot*, a lieutenant; Master *Waterhouse*, a lieutenant; Master *George Candish*, Master *Nicholas Winter*, Master *Alexander Carlile*, Master *Robert Alexander*, Master *Scroope*, Master *James Dyer*, Master *Peter Duke*. With some other, whom for haste I cannot suddenly think on.

The ordnance gotten of all sorts, brass and iron, were about two hundred and forty pieces, whereof the two hundred and some more were brass, and were thus found and gotten:—At *Santiago* some two or three and fifty pieces. In *St. Domingo* about four score, whereof was very much great ordnance, as whole cannon [1], demi-

[1] The 'whole cannon' had a bore of 8 inches, and carried a shot of 60 lb.: the 'demi-cannon' 6½ inches, shot 30 lb.: the culverin 5½ inches, shot 18 lb.

cannon, culverins, and such like. In *Carthagena* some sixty and three pieces, and good store likewise of the greater sort. In the Fort of *St. Augustine* were fourteen pieces. The rest was iron ordnance, of which the most part was gotten at *St. Domingo*, the rest at *Carthagena*.

GILBERT (b. 1539? d. 1583).

Apart from the designs on Spanish America above described, it was natural that Gilbert, whose treatise written to prove the existence of a North-West Passage had contributed in so important a degree to stimulate enterprise in that direction (see above, page 84, line 17), should meditate the permanent occupation of the North American coasts. More than fifty years previously the Italian navigator Verrazzano had explored these coasts and ascertained the continuity of the great land in the South named after Amerigo Vespucci with the 'New-land' or 'Newfoundland' of the Northmen. South America had now been occupied in many parts by the Spaniards and Portuguese: the 'New-land,' re-discovered by John Cabot in the year 1497, was now annually resorted to by the fishermen of Spain, Portugal, France, and England. But the intermediate coast was as yet unoccupied by Europeans. The Spaniards had destroyed the French settlement in Florida, but for their own part had only built a single fort, not of very formidable aspect; and from Florida to Nova Scotia a fruitful virgin soil invited the colonist. Verrazzano's voyages (see above, p. xvi) had procured this coast the name of New France. But the intended French occupation had failed; and this name was destined to be replaced in a few years by the English name of Virginia (post, p. 329).

Sir Humfrey Gilbert's mother had married as her second husband a Devonshire gentleman named Walter Raleigh. Her youngest son, also named Walter Raleigh, was closely associated with Gilbert in his projects. Both Gilbert and Raleigh had studied cosmography at Oxford, and had become familiar with the history of the discovery and conquest of the New World; and no student of that history could believe that the destinies of the New World were unalterably fixed

by the Papal grant to Spain. That grant, however, had been so long acquiesced in that it was not easy to dispute it, unless upon some new ground; and accordingly an old story was revived with a new meaning. John Cabot, a Bristol seaman, had notoriously reached the mainland of America before Columbus himself. How far he had explored its coast is uncertain; but it is extremely improbable that he went so far southward as the Hudson river. When the vast extent of North America became known, and its future importance as a field of colonization was obvious, it was confidently alleged that Cabot, or his son Sebastian, or both, had coasted the continent from Labrador to Florida, and had thus acquired for England a title which superseded that of Spain and France. Elizabeth's accession put an end to the Spanish connexion, and gave such ideas a new stimulus. After the voyage of Hawkins in 1564 attention was more and more directed to these coasts. Tracts were written urging their occupation; the exploits of Hawkins and Drake had gone far to prove its feasibility; and funds were without difficulty raised for attempting it. 'The nakedness of the Spaniards, and their long-hidden secrets, whereby they went about to delude the world,' wrote Hakluyt, in 1582, 'are now espied.' England, it was urged, was overflowing with poor, who might be advantageously planted in this new soil. 'If we would behold,' Hakluyt goes on, 'with the eye of pity how all our prisons are pestered and filled with able men to serve their country, which for small robberies are daily hanged up in great numbers, even twenty at a clap out of one jail (as was seen at the last assizes at Rochester), we would hasten and further, every man to his power, the deducting of some colonies of our superfluous people into those temperate and fertile parts of America, which, being within six weeks' sailing of England, are yet unpossessed by any Christians, and seem to offer themselves unto us, stretching nearer unto her Majesty's dominions than to any other part of Europe[1].' Following the line then usual in pulpit argument, the enthusiastic divine supported this view by the analogy

[1] Hakluyt, Dedication to *Divers Voyages*, pp. 1, 2.

of nature and the practice of antiquity. Bees send forth swarmings from the old hive; colonies were 'deducted' in old times by the Greeks and the Carthaginians. Hakluyt pointed to the successful colonization of Portuguese America, due to the suggestion of De Barros, a man of learning like himself. Brazil was no longer a deserted coast. It had its nine baronies or lordships, containing thirty ingenios or sugar-mills, each employing two or three hundred slaves, and having its judge and other civil officers, its church and clergy. Why should not these little communities be reproduced elsewhere? 'An excellent learned man' of Portugal had protested to Hakluyt that, were he but younger, he would sell all that he had to furnish a convenient number of ships for the colonization of these northern parts of America.

When Hakluyt was writing thus, Gilbert had already procured a grant, in the usual form, of such lands in these parts as he should discover and occupy (June 11, 1578). His first expedition sailed by the southern route in the same year (p. 283), but was worsted in an engagement near Cape Verde, with a Spanish squadron, and sustained other disasters. Gilbert now returned to service in Ireland. Subsequently he procured the means of making another attempt, in which he intended to take the northern route: and in June, 1583, twelve months before the expiry of his patent, Gilbert sailed from Cawsand Bay with five vessels, with the general intention of occupying the northern parts of America, beginning with Newfoundland. It was the first colonizing expedition which left Great Britain; and the narrative of the expedition by Hayes, who commanded one of the vessels, forms the first page in the history of English colonization. Gilbert did no more than go through the form of taking possession of St. John's, and the adjacent parts of the island of Newfoundland. When he crossed the Gulf of St. Lawrence to Cape Breton and Nova Scotia the season was far advanced; the *Delight*, his largest vessel, struck on a shoal, and became a wreck; all on board perished, including the Hungarian scholar Stephen Parmenius, who had come out as the historian of the expedition; most of the stores were lost, and the rest of the crews

became utterly dispirited. Gilbert therefore resolved on sailing homeward, intending to return and prosecute his enterprise in the next spring. During a violent storm encountered in the longitude of the Azores, his little vessel sank in the darkness, and the pioneer of English colonization found a watery grave. Few passages in English story are better known than that part of the present narrative which describes Gilbert as sitting abaft on the deck of the *Squirrel* with a book in his hand, cheering those in the *Hind* by reiterating 'We are as near to heaven by sea as by land' (p. 319). This aphorism is in substance taken from More's Utopia: possibly the book in his hand was Ralph Robinson's translation of More's tract[1]. The ill success of Gilbert's expedition induced Raleigh to abandon the northward route; and Amadas and Barlow, who were sent out by him to explore, sailed to the shores intended to be occupied by the easier but more circuitous one of the Canaries and the West Indies.

[1] 'Having customably in his mouth these sayings: *he that hath no grave is covered with the sky*; and *the way to heaven out of all places is of like length and distance.*' (Arber's reprint, p. 30.)

GILBERT'S VOYAGE.

A REPORT *of the* VOYAGE *and success thereof, attempted in the year of our Lord* 1583, *by* SIR HUMFREY GILBERT, KNIGHT, *with other gentlemen assisting him in that action, intended to discover and to plant Christian inhabitants in place convenient, upon those large and ample countries extended northward from the Cape of* FLORIDA, *lying under very temperate climes, esteemed fertile and rich in minerals, yet not in the actual possession of any Christian prince. Written by* MR. EDWARD HAYES, gentleman, *and principal actor in the same voyage*[1], *who alone continued unto the end, and, by God's special assistance, returned home with his retinue safe and entire.*

MANY voyages have been pretended, yet hitherto never any thoroughly accomplished by our nation, of exact discovery into the bowels of those main, ample, and vast countries extended infinitely into the north from thirty degrees, or rather from twenty-five degrees, of septentrional latitude, neither hath a right way been taken of planting a Christian habitation and regiment[2] upon the same, as well may appear both by the little we yet do actually possess therein, and by our ignorance of the riches and secrets within those lands, which unto this day we know chiefly by the travel and report of other nations, and most of the French, who albeit they cannot challenge such right and interest unto the said

[1] Hayes was captain and owner of the *Golden Hind*, Gilbert's Rear-Admiral.

[2] Government.

countries as we, neither these many years have had opportunity nor means so great to discover and to plant, being vexed with the calamities of intestine wars, as we have had by the inestimable benefit of our long and happy peace, yet have they both ways performed more, and had long since attained a sure possession and settled government of many provinces in those northerly parts of *America*, if their many attempts into those foreign and remote lands had not been impeached by their garboils at home.

The first discovery of these coasts, never heard of before, was well begun by *John Cabot* the father and *Sebastian* his son, an Englishman born, who were the first finders out of all that great tract of land stretching from the Cape of *Florida* unto those islands which we now call the *Newfoundland*; all which they brought and annexed unto the crown of *England*. Since when, if with like diligence the search of inland countries had been followed, as the discovery upon the coast and outparts thereof was performed by those two men, no doubt her Majesty's territories and revenue had been mightily enlarged and advanced by this day; and, which is more, the seed of Christian religion had been sowed amongst those pagans, which by this time might have brought forth a most plentiful harvest and copious congregation of Christians; which must be the chief intent of such as shall make any attempt that way; or else whatsoever is builded upon other foundation shall never obtain happy success nor continuance.

And although we cannot precisely judge (which only belongeth to God) what have been the humours of men stirred up to great attempts of discovering and planting in those remote countries, yet the events do shew that either God's cause hath not been chiefly preferred by them, or else God hath not permitted so abundant grace

as the light of His word and knowledge of Him to be yet revealed unto those infidels before the appointed time. But most assuredly, the only cause of religion hitherto hath kept back, and will also bring forward at the time assigned by God, an effectual and complete discovery and possession by Christians both of those ample countries and the riches within them hitherto concealed; whereof, notwithstanding, God in His wisdom hath permitted to be revealed from time to time a certain obscure and misty knowledge, by little and little to allure the minds of men that way, which else will be dull enough in the zeal of His cause, and thereby to prepare us unto a readiness for the execution of His will, against the due time ordained of calling those pagans unto Christianity.

In the meanwhile it behoveth every man of great calling, in whom is any instinct of inclination unto this attempt, to examine his own motions, which, if the same proceed of ambition or avarice, he may assure himself it cometh not of God, and therefore cannot have confidence of God's protection and assistance against the violence (else irresistible) both of sea and infinite perils upon the land; whom God yet may use [as] an instrument to further His cause and glory some way, but not to build upon so bad a foundation. Otherwise, if his motives be derived from a virtuous and heroical mind, preferring chiefly the honour of God, compassion of poor infidels captived by the devil, tyrannising in most wonderful and dreadful manner over their bodies and souls; advancement of his honest and well-disposed countrymen, willing to accompany him in such honourable actions; relief of sundry people within this realm distressed; all these be honourable purposes, imitating the nature of the munificent God, wherewith He is well pleased, who will assist such an actor

beyond expectation of man. And the same, who feeleth this inclination in himself, by all likelihood may hope, or rather confidently repose in the preordinance of God, that in this last age of the world (or likely never) the time is complete of receiving also these gentiles into His mercy, and that God will raise Him an instrument to effect the same; it seeming probable by event of precedent attempts made by the Spaniards and French sundry times, that the countries lying north of *Florida* God hath reserved the same to be reduced unto Christian civility by the English nation. For not long after that *Christopher Columbus* had discovered the islands and continent of the *West Indies* for *Spain*, *John and Sebastian Cabot* made discovery also of the rest from *Florida* northwards to the behoof of *England*.

And whensoever afterwards the Spaniards, very prosperous in all their southern discoveries, did attempt anything into *Florida* and those regions inclining towards the north, they proved most unhappy, and were at length discouraged utterly by the hard and lamentable success of many both religious and valiant in arms, endeavouring to bring those northerly regions also under the Spanish jurisdiction, as if God had prescribed limits unto the Spanish nation which they might not exceed; as by their own gests recorded may be aptly gathered.

The French, as they can pretend less title unto these northern parts than the Spaniard, by how much the Spaniard made the first discovery of the same continent so far northward as unto *Florida*, and the French did but review that before discovered by the English nation, usurping upon our right, and imposing names upon countries, rivers, bays, capes, or headlands as if they had been the first finders of those coasts; which injury we offered not unto the Spaniards, but left off to

discover when we approached the Spanish limits; even so God hath not hitherto permitted them to establish a possession permanent upon another's right, notwithstanding their manifold attempts, in which the issue hath been no less tragical than that of the Spaniards, as by their own reports is extant.

Then, seeing the English nation only hath right unto these countries of *America* from the Cape of *Florida* northward by the privilege of first discovery, unto which *Cabot* was authorised by regal authority, and set forth by the expense of our late famous King *Henry* the Seventh; which right also seemeth strongly defended on our behalf by the powerful hand of Almighty God withstanding the enterprises of other nations; it may greatly encourage us upon so just ground, as is our right, and upon so sacred an intent, as to plant religion (our right and intent being meet foundations for the same), to prosecute effectually the full possession of those so ample and pleasant countries appertaining unto the crown of *England*; the same, as is to be conjectured by infallible arguments of the world's end approaching, being now arrived unto the time by God prescribed of their vocation, if ever their calling unto the knowledge of God may be expected. Which also is very probable by the revolution and course of God's word and religion, which from the beginning hath moved from the east towards, and at last unto, the west, where it is like to end, unless the same begin again where it did in the east, which were to expect a like world again. But we are assured of the contrary by the prophecy of *Christ*, whereby we gather that after His word preached thoroughout the world shall be the end. And as the Gospel when it descended westward began in the south, and afterward spread into the north of *Europe*; even so, as the same hath begun in the south

countries of *America*, no less hope may be gathered that it will also spread into the north.

These considerations may help to suppress all dreads rising of hard events in attempts made this way by other nations, as also of the heavy success and issue in the late enterprise made by a worthy gentleman our countryman, Sir *Humfrey Gilbert*, Knight, who was the first of our nation that carried people to erect an habitation and government in those northerly countries of *America*. About which albeit he had consumed much substance, and lost his life at last, his people also perishing for the most part: yet the mystery thereof we must leave unto God, and judge charitably both of the cause, which was just in all pretence, and of the person, who was very zealous in prosecuting the same, deserving honourable remembrance for his good mind and expense of life in so virtuous an enterprise. Whereby nevertheless, lest any man should be dismayed by example of other folks' calamity, and misdeem that God doth resist all attempts intended that way, I thought good, so far as myself was an eye-witness, to deliver the circumstance and manner of our proceedings in that action; in which the gentleman was so unfortunately encumbered with wants, and worse matched with many ill-disposed people, that his rare judgment and regiment premeditated for those affairs was subjected to tolerate abuses, and in sundry extremities to hold on a course more to uphold credit than likely in his own conceit happily to succeed.

The issue of such actions, being always miserable, not guided by God, who abhorreth confusion and disorder, hath left this for admonition, being the first attempt by our nation to plant, unto such as shall take the same cause in hand hereafter, not to be discouraged from it; but to make men well advised how they handle His so high and excellent matters, as the carriage is of His

word into those very mighty and vast countries. An action doubtless not to be intermeddled with base purposes, as many have made the same but a colour to shadow actions otherwise scarce justifiable; which doth excite God's heavy judgments in the end, to the terrifying of weak minds from the cause, without pondering His just proceedings; and doth also incense foreign princes against our attempts, how just soever, who cannot but deem the sequel very dangerous unto their state (if in those parts we should grow to strength), seeing the very beginnings are entered with spoil.

And with this admonition denounced upon zeal towards God's cause, also towards those in whom appeareth disposition honourable unto this action of planting Christian people and religion in those remote and barbarous nations of *America* (unto whom I wish all happiness), I will now proceed to make relation briefly, yet particularly, of our voyage undertaken with Sir *Humfrey Gilbert*, begun, continued, and ended adversely.

When first Sir *Humfrey Gilbert* undertook the western discovery of *America*, and had procured from her Majesty a very large commission to inhabit and possess at his choice all remote and heathen lands not in the actual possession of any Christian prince, the same commission exemplified with many privileges, such as in his discretion he might demand, very many gentlemen of good estimation drew unto him, to associate him in so commendable an enterprise, so that the preparation was expected to grow unto a puissant fleet, able to encounter a king's power by sea. Nevertheless, amongst a multitude of voluntary men, their dispositions were diverse, which bred a jar, and made a division in the end, to the confusion of that attempt even before the same was begun. And when the shipping was in a manner prepared, and men ready upon the coast to

go aboard, at that time some brake consort, and followed courses degenerating from the voyage before pretended. Others failed of their promises contracted, and the greater number were dispersed, leaving the General with few of his assured friends, with whom he adventured to sea; where, having tasted of no less misfortune, he was shortly driven to retire home with the loss of a tall ship and, more to his grief, of a valiant gentleman, *Miles Morgan*.

Having buried, only in a preparation, a great mass of substance, whereby his estate was impaired, his mind yet not dismayed, he continued his former designment, and purposed to revive this enterprise, good occasion serving. Upon which determination standing long without means to satisfy his desire, at last he granted certain assignments out of his commission to sundry persons of mean ability, desiring the privilege of his grant, to plant and fortify in the north parts of *America* about the river of *Canada*; to whom if God gave good success in the north parts (where then no matter of moment was expected), the same, he thought, would greatly advance the hope of the south, and be a furtherance unto his determination that way. And the worst that might happen in that course might be excused, without prejudice unto him, by the former supposition that those north regions were of no regard. But chiefly, a possession taken in any parcel of those heathen countries, by virtue of his grant, did invest him of territories extending every way 200 leagues; which induced Sir *Humfrey Gilbert* to make those assignments, desiring greatly their expedition, because his commission did expire after six years, if in that space he had not gotten actual possession.

Time went away without anything done by his assigns; insomuch that at last he must resolve himself to take

a voyage in person, for more assurance to keep his patent in force, which then almost was expired or within two years. In furtherance of his determination, amongst others, Sir *George Peckham*, Knight, shewed himself very zealous to the action, greatly aiding him both by his advice and in the charge. Other gentlemen to their ability joined unto him, resolving to adventure their substance and lives in the same cause. Who beginning their preparation from that time, both of shipping, munition, victual, men, and things requisite, some of them continued the charge two years complete without intermission. Such were the difficulties and cross accidents opposing these proceedings, which took not end in less than two years; many of which circumstances I will omit.

The last place of our assembly, before we left the coast of England, was in *Cawset* Bay, near unto *Plymouth*, then resolved to put unto the sea with shipping and provision such as we had, before our store yet remaining, but chiefly the time and season of the year, were too far spent. Nevertheless, it seemed first very doubtful by what way to shape our course, and to begin our intended discovery, either from the south northward or from the north southward. The first, that is, beginning south, without all controversy was the likeliest; wherein we were assured to have commodity of the current which from the Cape of *Florida* setteth northward, and would have furthered greatly our navigation, discovering from the foresaid cape along towards Cape *Breton*, and all those lands lying to the north. Also, the year being far spent, and arrived to the month of June, we were not to spend time in northerly courses, where we should be surprised with timely winter, but to covet the south, which we had space enough then to have attained, and there might with less detriment have wintered that season, being more mild and short in

the south than in the north, where winter is both long and rigorous. These and other like reasons alleged in favour of the southern course first to be taken, to the contrary was inferred that forasmuch as both our victuals and many other needful provisions were diminished and left insufficient for so long a voyage and for the wintering of so many men, we ought to shape a course most likely to minister supply; and that was to take the *Newfoundland* in our way, which was but 700 leagues from our English coast. Where being usually at that time of the year, and until the fine of August, a multitude of ships repairing thither for fish, we should be relieved abundantly with many necessaries, which, after the fishing ended, they might well spare and freely impart unto us. Not staying long upon that *Newland* coast, we might proceed southward, and follow still the sun, until we arrived at places more temperate to our content.

By which reasons we were the rather induced to follow this northerly course, obeying unto necessity, which must be supplied. Otherwise, we doubted that sudden approach of winter, bringing with it continual fog and thick mists, tempest and rage of weather, also contrariety of currents descending from the Cape of *Florida* unto Cape *Breton* and Cape *Race*, would fall out to be great and irresistible impediments unto our further proceeding for that year, and compel us to winter in those north and cold regions. Wherefore, suppressing all objections to the contrary, we resolved to begin our course northward, and to follow, directly as we might, the trade way unto *Newfoundland*; from whence, after our refreshing and reparation of wants, we intended without delay, by God's permission, to proceed into the south, not omitting any river or bay which in all that large tract of land appeared to our

view worthy of search. Immediately we agreed upon the manner of our course and orders to be observed in our voyage; which were delivered in writing, unto the captains and masters of every ship a copy, in manner following.

Every ship had delivered two bullets or scrolls, the one sealed up in wax, the other left open; in both which were included several watchwords. That open, serving upon our own coast or the coast of Ireland; the other sealed, was promised on all hands not to be broken up until we should be clear of the Irish coast; which from thenceforth did serve until we arrived and met all together in such harbours of the *Newfoundland* as were agreed for our *rendez-vous*. The said watchwords being requisite to know our consorts whensoever by night, either by fortune of weather, our fleet dispersed should come together again; or one should hail another; or if by ill watch and steerage one ship should chance to fall aboard of another in the dark.

The reason of the bullet sealed was to keep secret that watchword while we were upon our own coast, lest any of the company stealing from the fleet might bewray the same; which known to an enemy, he might board us by night without mistrust, having our own watchword.

ORDERS *agreed upon by the* CAPTAINS *and* MASTERS *to be observed by the fleet of Sir* HUMFREY GILBERT.

FIRST, The Admiral to carry his flag by day, and his light by night.

2. Item, if the Admiral shall shorten his sail by night, then to shew two lights until he be answered again by every ship shewing one light for a short time.

3. Item, if the Admiral after his shortening of sail, as aforesaid, shall make more sail again; then he to shew three lights one above another.

4. Item, if the Admiral shall happen to hull in the

night, then to make a wavering light over his other light, wavering the light upon a pole.

5. Item, if the fleet should happen to be scattered by weather, or other mishap, then so soon as one shall descry another, to hoise both topsails twice, if the weather will serve, and to strike them twice again; but if the weather serve not, then to hoise the maintopsail twice, and forthwith to strike it twice again.

6. Item, if it shall happen a great fog to fall, then presently every ship to bear up with the Admiral, if there be wind; but if it be a calm, then every ship to hull, and so to lie at hull till it clear. And if the fog do continue long, then the Admiral to shoot off two pieces every evening, and every ship to answer it with one shot; and every man bearing to the ship that is to leeward so near as he may.

7. Item, every master to give charge unto the watch to look out well, for laying aboard one of another in the night, and in fogs.

8. Item, every evening every ship to hail the Admiral, and so to fall astern him, sailing thorough the ocean; and being on the coast, every ship to hail him both morning and evening.

9. Item, if any ship be in danger in any way, by leak or otherwise, then she to shoot off a piece, and presently to hang out one light; whereupon every man to bear towards her, answering her with one light for a short time, and so to put it out again; thereby to give knowledge that they have seen her token.

10. Item, whensoever the Admiral shall hang out her ensign in the main shrouds, then every man to come aboard her as a token of counsel.

11. Item, if there happen any storm or contrary wind to the fleet after the discovery, whereby they are separated; then every ship to repair unto their last good port, there to meet again.

Our Course *agreed upon.*

The course first to be taken for the discovery is to bear directly to Cape *Race*, the most southerly cape of *Newfoundland*; and there to harbour ourselves either in *Rogneux* or *Fermous*, being the first places appointed

for our *rendez-vous*, and the next harbours unto the northward of Cape *Race*: and therefore every ship separated from the fleet to repair to that place so fast as God shall permit, whether you shall fall to the southward or to the northward of it, and there to stay for the meeting of the whole fleet the space of ten days; and when you shall depart, to leave marks.

Beginning our course from *Scilly*, the nearest is by west-south-west (if the wind serve) until such time as we have brought ourselves in the latitude of 43 or 44 degrees, because the ocean is subject much to southerly winds in June and July. Then to take traverse from 45 to 47 degrees of latitude, if we be enforced by contrary winds; and not to go to the northward of the height of 47 degrees of septentrional latitude by no means, if God shall not enforce the contrary; but to do your endeavour to keep in the height of 46 degrees, so near as you can possibly, because Cape *Race* lieth about that height.

Note.

If by contrary winds we be driven back upon the coast of *England*, then to repair unto *Scilly* for a place of our assembly or meeting. If we be driven back by contrary winds that we cannot pass the coast of *Ireland*, then the place of our assembly to be at *Bere* haven or *Baltimore* haven. If we shall not happen to meet at Cape *Race*, then the place of *rendez-vous* to be at Cape *Breton*, or the nearest harbour unto the westward of Cape *Breton*. If by means of other shipping we may not safely stay there, then to rest at the very next safe port to the westward; every ship leaving their marks behind them for the more certainty of the after comers to know where to find them. The marks that every man ought to leave in such a case, were of the General's private device written by himself, sealed also in close wax, and delivered unto every ship one scroll, which was not to be opened until occasion required, whereby every man was certified what to leave for instruction of after comers; that every of us coming into any harbour or river might know who had been there, or whether

any were still there up higher into the river, or departed, and which way.

Orders thus determined, and promises mutually given to be observed, every man withdrew himself unto his charge; the anchors being already weighed, and our ships under sail, having a soft gale of wind, we began our voyage upon Tuesday, the 11. day of June, in the year of our Lord 1583, having in our fleet (at our departure from *Cawset* Bay) these ships, whose names and burthens, with the names of the captains and masters of them, I have also inserted, as followeth:—1. The *Delight, alias* the *George,* of burthen 120 tons, was Admiral; in which went the General, and *William Winter,* captain in her and part owner, and *Richard Clarke,* master. 2. The bark *Raleigh,* set forth by Master *Walter Raleigh,* of the burthen of 200 tons, was then Vice-Admiral; in which went Master *Butler,* captain, and *Robert Davis,* of *Bristol,* master. 3. The *Golden Hind,* of burthen 40 tons, was then Rear-Admiral; in which went *Edward Hayes,* captain and owner, and *William Cox,* of *Limehouse,* master. 4. The *Swallow,* of burthen 40 tons; in her was captain *Maurice Browne.* 5. The *Squirrel,* of burthen 10 tons; in which went captain *William Andrews,* and one *Cade,* master. We were in number in all about 260 men; among whom we had of every faculty good choice, as shipwrights, masons, carpenters, smiths, and such like, requisite to such an action; also mineral men and refiners. Besides, for solace of our people, and allurement of the savages, we were provided of music in good variety; not omitting the least toys, as morris-dancers, hobby-horse, and May-like conceits to delight the savage people, whom we intended to win by all fair means possible. And to that end we were indifferently furnished of all petty haberdashery wares to barter with those simple people.

In this manner we set forward, departing (as hath been said) out of *Cawset* Bay the 11. day of June, being Tuesday, the weather and wind fair and good all day; but a great storm of thunder and wind fell the same night. Thursday following, when we hailed one another in the evening, according to the order before specified, they signified unto us out of the Vice-Admiral, that both the captain, and very many of the men, were fallen sick. And about midnight the Vice-Admiral forsook us, notwithstanding we had the wind east, fair and good. But it was after credibly reported that they were infected with a contagious sickness, and arrived greatly distressed at *Plymouth*; the reason I could never understand. Sure I am, no cost was spared by their owner, Master *Raleigh*, in setting them forth; therefore I leave it unto God. By this time we were in 48 degrees of latitude, not a little grieved with the loss of the most puissant ship in our fleet; after whose departure the *Golden Hind* succeeded in the place of Vice-Admiral, and removed her flag from the mizen into the foretop. From Saturday, the 15. of June, until the 28., which was upon a Friday, we never had fair day without fog or rain, and winds bad, much to the west-north-west, whereby we were driven southward unto 41 degrees scarce.

About this time of the year the winds are commonly west towards the *Newfoundland*, keeping ordinarily within two points of west to the south or to the north; whereby the course thither falleth out to be long and tedious after June, which in March, April, and May, hath been performed out of England in 22 days and less. We had wind always so scant from west-north-west, and from west-south-west again, that our traverse was great, running south unto 41 degrees almost, and afterwards north into 51 degrees. Also we were encumbered with much fog and mists in manner palpable, in

which we could not keep so well together, but were dissevered, losing the company of the *Swallow* and the *Squirrel* upon the 20. day of July, whom we met again at several places upon the *Newfoundland* coast the 3. of August, as shall be declared in place convenient. Saturday, the 27. July, we might descry, not far from us, as it were mountains of ice driven upon the sea, being then in 50 degrees, which were carried southward to the weather of us; whereby may be conjectured that some current doth set that way from the north.

Before we come to *Newfoundland*, about 50 leagues on this side, we pass the bank, which are high grounds rising within the sea and under water, yet deep enough and without danger, being commonly not less than 25 and 30 fathom water upon them; the same, as it were some vein of mountains within the sea, do run along and from the *Newfoundland*, beginning northward about 52 or 53 degrees of latitude, and do extend into the south infinitely. The breadth of this bank is somewhere more, and somewhere less; but we found the same about ten leagues over, having sounded both on this side thereof, and the other toward *Newfoundland*, but found no ground with almost 200 fathom of line, both before and after we had passed the bank. The Portugals, and French chiefly, have a notable trade of fishing upon this bank, where are sometimes an hundred or more sails of ships, who commonly begin the fishing in April, and have ended by July. That fish is large, always wet, having no land near to dry, and is called *cod* fish. During the time of fishing, a man shall know without sounding when he is upon the bank, by the incredible multitude of sea-fowl hovering over the same, to prey upon the offals and garbage of fish thrown out by fishermen, and floating upon the sea.

Upon Tuesday, the 11. of June, we forsook the coast of

England. So again [on] Tuesday, the 30. of July, seven weeks after, we got sight of land, being immediately embayed in the *Grand Bay*, or some other great bay; the certainty whereof we could not judge, so great haze and fog did hang upon the coast, as neither we might discern the land well, nor take the sun's height. But by our best computation we were then in the 51 degrees of latitude. Forsaking this bay and uncomfortable coast (nothing appearing unto us but hideous rocks and mountains, bare of trees, and void of any green herb) we followed the coast to the south, with weather fair and clear. We had sight of an island named *Penguin*, of a fowl there breeding in abundance almost incredible, which cannot fly, their wings not able to carry their body, being very large (not much less than a goose) and exceeding fat, which the Frenchmen use to take without difficulty upon that island, and to barrel them up with salt. But for lingering of time, we had made us there the like provision.

Trending this coast, we came to the island called *Baccalaos*, being not past two leagues from the main; to the south thereof lieth Cape *St. Francis*, five leagues distant from *Baccalaos*, between which goeth in a great bay, by the vulgar sort called the Bay of *Conception*. Here we met with the *Swallow* again, whom we had lost in the fog, and all her men altered into other apparel; whereof it seemed their store was so amended, that for joy and congratulation of our meeting, they spared not to cast up into the air and overboard their caps and hats in good plenty. The captain, albeit himself was very honest and religious, yet was he not appointed of men to his humour and desert; who for the most part were such as had been by us surprised upon the narrow seas of *England*, being pirates, and had taken at that instant certain Frenchmen laden, one

bark with wines, and another with salt. Both which we rescued, and took the man-of-war with all her men, which was the same ship now called the *Swallow*; following still their kind so oft as, being separated from the General, they found opportunity to rob and spoil. And because God's justice did follow the same company, even to destruction, and to the overthrow also of the captain (though not consenting to their misdemeanour) I will not conceal anything that maketh to the manifestation and approbation of His judgments, for examples of others; persuaded that God more sharply took revenge upon them, and hath tolerated longer as great outrage in others, by how much these went under protection of His cause and religion, which was then pretended.

Therefore upon further enquiry it was known how this company met with a bark returning home after the fishing with his freight; and because the men in the *Swallow* were very near scanted of victuals, and chiefly of apparel, doubtful withal where or when to find and meet with their Admiral, they besought the captain that they might go aboard this *Newlander*, only to borrow what might be spared, the rather because the same was bound homeward. Leave given, not without charge to deal favourably, they came aboard the fisherman, whom they rifled of tackle, sails, cables, victuals, and the men of their apparel; not sparing by torture, winding cords about their heads, to draw out else what they thought good. This done with expedition, like men skilful in such mischief, as they took their cockboat to go aboard their own ship, it was overwhelmed in the sea, and certain of these men there drowned; the rest were preserved even by those silly souls whom they had before spoiled, who saved and delivered them aboard the *Swallow*. What became afterwards of the

poor *Newlander*, perhaps destitute of sails and furniture sufficient to carry them home, whither they had not less to run than 700 leagues, God alone knoweth; who took vengeance not long after of the rest that escaped at this instant, to reveal the fact, and justify to the world God's judgments inflicted upon them, as shall be declared in place convenient.

Thus after we had met with the *Swallow*, we held on our course southward, until we came against the harbour called *St. John*, about five leagues from the former Cape of *St. Francis*, where before the entrance into the harbour, we found also the frigate or *Squirrel* lying at anchor; whom the English merchants, that were and always be Admirals by turns interchangeably over the fleets of fishermen within the same harbour, would not permit to enter into the harbour. Glad of so happy meeting, both of the *Swallow* and frigate in one day, being Saturday, the third of August, we made ready our fights[1], and prepared to enter the harbour, any resistance to the contrary notwithstanding, there being within of all nations to the number of 36 sails. But first the General despatched a boat to give them knowledge of his coming for no ill intent, having commission from her Majesty for his voyage he had in hand; and immediately we followed with a slack gale, and in the very entrance, which is but narrow, not above two butts' length[2], the Admiral fell upon a rock on the larboard side by great oversight, in that the weather was fair, the rock much above water fast by the shore, where neither went any sea-gate[3]. But we found such readiness in the English merchants to help us in that danger, that without delay there were brought a number of boats, which towed off the ship, and cleared her of danger.

[1] See Introduction, p. lxix. [2] Bow-shot. [3] Current.

Having taken place convenient in the road, we let fall anchors, the captains and masters repairing aboard our Admiral; whither also came immediately the masters and owners of the fishing fleet of Englishmen, to understand the General's intent and cause of our arrival there. They were all satisfied when the General had shewed his commission, and purpose to take possession of those lands to the behalf of the crown of *England*, and the advancement of the Christian religion in those paganish regions, requiring but their lawful aid for repairing of his fleet, and supply of some necessaries, so far as conveniently might be afforded him, both out of that and other harbours adjoining. In lieu whereof he made offer to gratify them with any favour and privilege, which upon their better advice they should demand, the like being not to be obtained hereafter for greater price. So craving expedition of his demand, minding to proceed further south without long detention in those parts, he dismissed them, after promise given of their best endeavour to satisfy speedily his so reasonable request. The merchants with their masters departed, they caused forthwith to be discharged all the great ordnance of their fleet in token of our welcome.

It was further determined that every ship of our fleet should deliver unto the merchants and masters of that harbour a note of all their wants: which done, the ships, as well English as strangers, were taxed at an easy rate to make supply. And besides, commissioners were appointed, part of our own company and part of theirs, to go into other harbours adjoining (for our English merchants command all there) to levy our provision: whereunto the Portugals, above other nations, did most willingly and liberally contribute. In so much as we were presented, above our allowance, with wines,

marmalades, most fine rusk[1] or biscuit, sweet oils, and sundry delicacies. Also we wanted not of fresh salmons, trouts, lobsters, and other fresh fish brought daily unto us. Moreover as the manner is in their fishing, every week to choose their Admiral anew, or rather they succeed in orderly course, and have weekly their Admiral's feast solemnized: even so the General, captains, and masters of our fleet were continually invited and feasted. To grow short, in our abundance at home the entertainment had been delightful; but after our wants and tedious passage through the ocean, it seemed more acceptable and of greater contentation, by how much the same was unexpected in that desolate corner of the world; where, at other times of the year, wild beasts and birds have only the fruition of all those countries, which now seemed a place very populous and much frequented.

The next morning being Sunday, and the fourth of August, the General and his company were brought on land by English merchants, who shewed unto us their accustomed walks unto a place they call the *Garden*. But nothing appeared more than nature itself without art: who confusedly hath brought forth roses abundantly, wild, but odoriferous, and to sense very comfortable. Also the like plenty of rasps-berries, which do grow in every place.

Monday following, the General had his tent set up; who, being accompanied with his own followers, summoned the merchants and masters, both English and strangers, to be present at his taking possession of those countries. Before whom openly was read, and interpreted unto the strangers, his commission: by virtue whereof he took possession in the same harbour of *St. John*, and 200 leagues every way, invested the

[1] Rusk (Sp. rosca) = ship's biscuit.

Queen's Majesty with the title and dignity thereof, had delivered unto him, after the custom of England, a rod, and a turf of the same soil, entering possession also for him, his heirs and assigns for ever; and signified unto all men, that from that time forward, they should take the same land as a territory appertaining to the Queen of *England*, and himself authorised under her Majesty to possess and enjoy it, and to ordain laws for the government thereof, agreeable, so near as conveniently might be, unto the laws of *England*, under which all people coming thither hereafter, either to inhabit, or by way of traffic, should be subjected and governed. And especially at the same time for a beginning, he proposed and delivered three laws to be in force immediately. That is to say: the first for religion, which in public exercise should be according to the Church of *England*. The second, for maintenance of her Majesty's right and possession of those territories, against which if any thing were attempted prejudicial, the party or parties offending should be adjudged and executed as in case of high treason, according to the laws of *England*. The third, if any person should utter words sounding to the dishonour of her Majesty, he should lose his ears, and have his ship and goods confiscate.

These contents published, obedience was promised by general voice and consent of the multitude, as well of Englishmen as strangers, praying for continuance of this possession and government begun; after this, the assembly was dismissed. And afterwards were erected not far from that place the arms of *England* engraven in lead, and infixed upon a pillar of wood. Yet further and actually to establish this possession taken in the right of her Majesty, and to the behoof of Sir *Humfrey Gilbert*, knight, his heirs and assigns

for ever, the General granted in fee-farm divers parcels of land lying by the water-side, both in this harbour of *St. John*, and elsewhere, which was to the owners a great commodity, being thereby assured, by their proper inheritance, of grounds convenient to dress and to dry their fish; whereof many times before they did fail, being prevented by them that came first into the harbour. For which grounds they did covenant to pay a certain rent and service unto Sir *Humfrey Gilbert*, his heirs or assigns for ever, and yearly to maintain possession of the same, by themselves or their assigns.

Now remained only to take in provision granted, according as every ship was taxed, which did fish upon the coast adjoining. In the meanwhile, the General appointed men unto their charge: some to repair and trim the ships, others to attend in gathering together our supply and provisions: others to search the commodities and singularities of the country, to be found by sea or land, and to make relation unto the General what either themselves could know by their own travail and experience, or by good intelligence of Englishmen or strangers, who had longest frequented the same coast. Also some observed the elevation of the pole, and drew plots of the country exactly graded. And by that I could gather by each man's several relation, I have drawn a brief description of the *Newfoundland*, with the commodities by sea or land already made, and such also as are in possibility and great likelihood to be made. Nevertheless the cards and plots that were drawn, with the due gradation of the harbours, bays, and capes, did perish with the Admiral: wherefore in the description following, I must omit the particulars of such things.

That which we do call the *Newfoundland*, and the Frenchmen *Baccalaos*, is an island, or rather, after the

opinion of some, it consisteth of sundry islands and broken lands, situate in the north regions of *America*, upon the gulf and entrance of a great river called *St. Lawrence* in *Canada*; into the which, navigation may be made both on the south and north side of this island. The land lieth south and north, containing in length between 300 and 400 miles, accounting from Cape *Race*, which is in 46 degrees 25 minutes, unto the *Grand Bay* in 52 degrees, of septentrional latitude. The land round about hath very many goodly bays and harbours, safe roads for ships, the like not to be found in any part of the known world.

The common opinion that is had of intemperature and extreme cold that should be in this country, as of some part it may be verified, namely the north, where I grant it is more cold than in countries of *Europe*, which are under the same elevation: even so it cannot stand with reason and nature of the clime, that the south parts should be so intemperate as the bruit hath gone. For as the same do lie under the climes of *Bretagne*, *Anjou*, *Poictou* in *France*, between 46 and 49 degrees, so can they not so much differ from the temperature of those countries: unless upon the out-coast lying open unto the ocean and sharp winds, it must indeed be subject to more cold than further within the land, where the mountains are interposed as walls and bulwarks, to defend and to resist the asperity and rigour of the sea and weather. Some hold opinion that the *Newfoundland* might be the more subject to cold, by how much it lieth high and near unto the middle region. I grant that not in *Newfoundland* alone, but in *Germany*, *Italy* and *Afric*, even under the equinoctial line, the mountains are extreme cold, and seldom uncovered of snow, in their culm and highest tops, which cometh to pass by the same reason

that they are extended towards the middle region: yet in the countries lying beneath them, it is found quite contrary. Even so, all hills having their descents, the valleys also and low grounds must be likewise hot or temperate, as the clime doth give in *Newfoundland*: though I am of opinion that the sun's reflection is much cooled, and cannot be so forcible in *Newfoundland*, nor generally throughout *America*, as in *Europe* or *Afric*: by how much the sun in his diurnal course from east to west, passeth over, for the most part, dry land and sandy countries, before he arriveth at the west of *Europe* or *Afric*, whereby his motion increaseth heat, with little or no qualification by moist vapours. Where[as], on the contrary, he passeth from *Europe* and *Afric* unto *America* over the ocean, from whence he draweth and carrieth with him abundance of moist vapours, which do qualify and enfeeble greatly the sun's reverberation upon this country chiefly of *Newfoundland*, being so much to the northward. Nevertheless, as I said before, the cold cannot be so intolerable under the latitude of 46, 47, and 48, especial within land, that it should be unhabitable, as some do suppose, seeing also there are very many people more to the north by a great deal. And in these south parts there be certain beasts, ounces or leopards, and birds in like manner, which in the summer we have seen, not heard of in countries of extreme and vehement coldness. Besides, as in the months of June, July, August and September, the heat is somewhat more than in England at those seasons: so men remaining upon the south parts near unto Cape *Race*, until after holland-tide[1], have not found the cold so extreme, nor much differing from the temperature of *England*. Those which have arrived there after November and December have found the snow exceeding

[1] All-hallow-tide (November 1).

deep, whereat no marvel, considering the ground upon the coast is rough and uneven, and the snow is driven into the places most declining, as the like is to be seen with us. The like depth of snow happily shall not be found within land upon the plainer countries, which also are defended by the mountains, breaking off the violence of winds and weather. But admitting extraordinary cold in those south parts, above that with us here, it cannot be so great as in *Swedeland*, much less in *Moscovia* or *Russia*: yet are the same countries very populous, and the rigour of cold is dispensed with by the commodity of stoves, warm clothing, meats and drinks: all of which need not to be wanting in the *Newfoundland*, if we had intent there to inhabit.

In the south parts we found no inhabitants, which by all likelihood have abandoned those coasts, the same being so much frequented by Christians; but in the north are savages altogether harmless. Touching the commodities of this country, serving either for sustentation of inhabitants or for maintenance of traffic, there are and may be made divers; so that it seemeth that nature hath recompensed that only defect and incommodity of some sharp cold, by many benefits; namely, with incredible quantity, and no less variety, of kinds of fish in the sea and fresh waters, as trouts, salmons, and other fish to us unknown; also cod, which alone draweth many nations thither, and is become the most famous fishing of the world; abundance of whales, for which also is a very great trade in the bays of *Placentia* and the *Grand Bay*, where is made train oil of the whale; herring, the largest that have been heard of, and exceeding the *Marstrand* herring of *Norway*; but hitherto was never benefit taken of the herring fishing. There are sundry other fish very delicate,

namely, the *bonito*, lobsters, turbot, with others infinite not sought after; oysters having pearl but not orient in colour; I took it, by reason they were not gathered in season.

Concerning the inland commodities, as well to be drawn from this land, as from the exceeding large countries adjoining, there is nothing which our east and northerly countries of *Europe* do yield, but the like also may be made in them as plentifully, by time and industry; namely, resin, pitch, tar, soap-ashes, deal-board, masts for ships, hides, furs, flax, hemp, corn, cables, cordage, linen cloth, metals, and many more. All which the countries will afford, and the soil is apt to yield. The trees for the most in those south parts are fir-trees, pine, and cypress, all yielding gum and turpentine. Cherry trees bearing fruit no bigger than a small pease. Also pear-trees, but fruitless. Other trees of some sort to us unknown. The soil along the coast is not deep of earth, bringing forth abundantly peasen small, yet good feeding for cattle. Roses passing sweet, like unto our musk roses in form; raspises; a berry which we call whorts, good and wholesome to eat. The grass and herb doth fat sheep in very short space, proved by English merchants which have carried sheep thither for fresh victual and had them raised exceeding fat in less than three weeks. Peasen which our countrymen have sown in the time of May, have come up fair, and been gathered in the beginning of August, of which our General had a present acceptable for the rareness, being the first fruits coming up by art and industry in that desolate and dishabited land. Lakes or pools of fresh water, both on the tops of mountains and in the valleys; in which are said to be muscles not unlike to have pearl, which I had put in trial, if by mischance falling unto me I had not been

letted from that and other good experiments I was minded to make. Fowl both of water and land in great plenty and diversity. All kind of green fowl; others as big as bustards, yet not the same. A great white fowl called of some a gaunt. Upon the land divers sorts of hawks, as falcons, and others by report. Partridges most plentiful, larger than ours, grey and white of colour, and rough-footed like doves, which our men after one flight did kill with cudgels, they were so fat and unable to fly. Birds, some like blackbirds, linnets, canary birds, and other very small. Beasts of sundry kinds; red deer, buffles, or a beast as it seemeth by the tract and foot very large, in manner of an ox. Bears, ounces or leopards, some greater and some lesser; wolves, foxes, which to the northward a little further are black, whose fur is esteemed in some countries of *Europe* very rich. Otters, beavers, marterns; and in the opinion of most men that saw it, the General had brought unto him a sable alive, which he sent unto his brother, Sir *John Gilbert*, Knight, of *Devonshire*, but it was never delivered, as after I understood. We could not observe the hundredth part of creatures in those unhabited lands; but these mentioned may induce us to glorify the magnificent God, who hath superabundantly replenished the earth with creatures serving for the use of man, though man hath not used the fifth part of the same, which the more doth aggravate the fault and foolish sloth in many of our nation, choosing rather to live indirectly, and very miserably to live and die within this realm pestered with inhabitants, than to adventure as becometh men, to obtain an habitation in those remote lands, in which nature very prodigally doth minister unto men's endeavours, and for art to work upon. For besides these already recounted and infinite more, the mountains generally make shew of

mineral substance; iron very common, lead, and somewhere copper. I will not aver of richer metals; albeit by the circumstances following, more than hope may be conceived thereof.

For amongst other charges given to enquire out the singularities of this country, the General was most curious in the search of metals, commanding the mineral-man and refiner especially to be diligent. The same was a *Saxon*[1] born, honest, and religious, named *Daniel.* Who after search brought at first some sort of ore, seeming rather to be iron than other metal. The next time he found ore, which with no small show of contentment he delivered unto the General, using protestation that if silver were the thing which might satisfy the General and his followers, there it was, advising him to seek no further; the peril whereof he undertook upon his life (as dear unto him as the crown of *England* unto her Majesty, that I may use his own words) if it fell not out accordingly.

Myself at this instant liker to die than to live, by a mischance, could not follow this confident opinion of our refiner to my own satisfaction; but afterward demanding our General's opinion therein, and to have some part of the ore, he replied, *Content yourself, I have seen enough; and were it but to satisfy my private humour, I would proceed no further. The promise unto my friends, and necessity to bring also the south countries within compass of my patent near expired, as we have already done these north parts, do only persuade me further. And touching the ore, I have sent it aboard, whereof I would have no speech to be made so long as we remain within harbour; here being both Portugals, Biscayans, and Frenchmen, not far off, from whom must be kept any bruit or muttering of such matter. When we are at sea,*

[1] Probably from the mining district of Lower Saxony.

proof shall be made; if it be our desire, we may return the sooner hither again. Whose answer I judged reasonable, and contenting me well; wherewith I will conclude this narration and description of the *Newfoundland*, and proceed to the rest of our voyage, which ended tragically.

While the better sort of us were seriously occupied in repairing our wants, and contriving of matters for the commodity of our voyage, others of another sort and disposition were plotting of mischief; some casting to steal away our shipping by night, watching opportunity by the General's and captains' lying on the shore; whose conspiracies discovered, they were prevented. Others drew together in company, and carried away out of the harbours adjoining a ship laden with fish, setting the poor men on shore. A great many more of our people stole into the woods to hide themselves, attending time and means to return home by such shipping as daily departed from the coast. Some were sick of fluxes, and many dead; and in brief, by one means or other our company was diminished, and many by the General licensed to return home. Insomuch as after we had reviewed our people, resolved to see an end of our voyage, we grew scant of men to furnish all our shipping; it seemed good therefore unto the General to leave the *Swallow* with such provision as might be spared for transporting home the sick people.

The captain of the *Delight*, or Admiral, returned into *England*, in whose stead was appointed captain *Maurice Browne*, before captain of the *Swallow*; who also brought with him into the *Delight* all his men of the *Swallow*, which before have been noted of outrage perpetrated and committed upon fishermen there met at sea.

The General made choice to go in his frigate the *Squirrel*, whereof the captain also was amongst them that returned into *England*; the same frigate being most convenient to discover upon the coast, and to search into every harbour or creek, which a great ship could not do. Therefore the frigate was prepared with her nettings and fights, and overcharged with bases and such small ordnance, more to give a show, than with judgment to foresee unto the safety of her and the men, which afterward was an occasion also of their overthrow.

Now having made ready our shipping, that is to say, the *Delight*, the *Golden Hind*, and the *Squirrel*, we put aboard our provision, which was wines, bread or rusk, fish wet and dry, sweet oils, besides many other, as marmalades, figs, limons barrelled, and such like. Also we had other necessary provisions for trimming our ships, nets and lines to fish withal, boats or pinnaces fit for discovery. In brief, we were supplied of our wants commodiously, as if we had been in a country or some city populous and plentiful of all things.

We departed from this harbour of *St. John's* upon Tuesday, the 20. of August, which we found by exact observation to be in 47 degrees 40 minutes; and the next day by night we were at Cape *Race*, 25 leagues from the same harborough. This cape lieth south-south-west from *St. John's*; it is a low land, being off from the cape about half a league; within the sea riseth up a rock against the point of the cape, which thereby is easily known. It is in latitude 46 degrees 25 minutes. Under this cape we were becalmed a small time, during which we laid out hooks and lines to take cod, and drew in less than two hours fish so large and in such abundance, that many days after we fed upon no other provision. From hence we shaped our course

unto the island of *Sablon*, if conveniently it would so fall out, also directly to Cape *Breton*.

Sablon lieth to the seaward of Cape *Breton* about 25 leagues, whither we were determined to go upon intelligence we had of a Portugal, during our abode in *St. John's*, who was himself present when the Portugals, above thirty years past, did put into the same island both neat and swine to breed, which were since exceedingly multiplied. This seemed unto us very happy tidings, to have in an island lying so near unto the main, which we intended to plant upon, such store of cattle, whereby we might at all times conveniently be relieved of victual, and served of store for breed.

In this course we trended along the coast, which from Cape *Race* stretcheth into the north-west, making a bay which some called *Trepassa*[1]. Then it goeth out again towards the west, and maketh a point, which with Cape *Race* lieth in manner east and west. But this point inclineth to the north, to the west of which goeth in the Bay of *Placentia*. We sent men on land to take view of the soil along this coast, whereof they made good report, and some of them had will to be planted there. They saw pease growing in great abundance everywhere.

The distance between Cape *Race* and Cape *Breton* is 87 leagues; in which navigation we spent eight days, having many times the wind indifferent good, yet could we never attain sight of any land all that time, seeing we were hindered by the current. At last we fell into such flats and dangers, that hardly any of us escaped; where nevertheless we lost our Admiral[2] with all the men and provisions, not knowing certainly the place.

[1] From the Baie des Trépassés at the Pointe du Raz in Brittany, from which Cape Race itself is named.

[2] The *Delight*.

Yet for inducing men of skill to make conjecture, by our course and way we held from Cape *Race* thither, that thereby the flats and dangers may be inserted in sea cards, for warning to others that may follow the same course hereafter, I have set down the best reckonings that were kept by expert men, *William Cox*, Master of the *Hind*, and *John Paul*, his mate, both of *Limehouse*. . . . Our course we held in clearing us of these flats was east-south-east, and south-east, and south, fourteen leagues, with a marvellous scant wind.

Upon Tuesday, the 27. of August, toward the evening, our General caused them in his frigate to sound, who found white sand at 35 fathom, being then in latitude about 44 degrees. Wednesday, toward night, the wind came south, and we bare with the land all that night, west-north-west, contrary to the mind of Master *Cox*; nevertheless we followed the Admiral, deprived of power to prevent a mischief, which by no contradiction could be brought to hold another course, alleging they could not make the ship to work better, nor to lie otherways. The evening was fair and pleasant, yet not without token of storm to ensue, and most part of this Wednesday night, like the swan that singeth before her death, they in the Admiral, or *Delight*, continued in sounding of trumpets, with drums and fifes; also winding the cornets and hautboys, and in the end of their jollity, left with the battle and ringing of doleful knells. Towards the evening also we caught in the *Golden Hind* a very mighty porpoise with a harping iron, having first stricken divers of them, and brought away part of their flesh sticking upon the iron, but could recover only that one. These also, passing through the ocean in herds, did portend storm. I omit to recite frivolous reports by them in the frigate, of strange voices the same night, which scared some from the helm.

Thursday, the 29. of August, the wind rose, and blew vehemently at south and by east, bringing withal rain and thick mist, so that we could not see a cable length before us; and betimes in the morning we were altogether run and folded in amongst flats and sands, amongst which we found shoal and deep in every three or four ships' length, after we began to sound: but first we were upon them unawares, until Master *Cox* looking out, discerned, in his judgment, white cliffs, crying *Land!* withal; though we could not afterward descry any land, it being very likely the breaking of the sea white, which seemed to be white cliffs, through the haze and thick weather.

Immediately tokens were given unto the *Delight*, to cast about to seaward, which, being the greater ship, and of burthen 120 tons, was yet foremost upon the breach, keeping so ill watch, that they knew not the danger, before they felt the same, too late to recover it; for presently the Admiral struck aground, and had soon after her stern and hinder parts beaten in pieces; whereupon the rest (that is to say, the frigate, in which was the General, and the *Golden Hind*) cast about east-south-east, bearing to the south, even for our lives, into the wind's eye, because that way carried us to the seaward. Making out from this danger, we sounded one while seven fathom, then five fathom, then four fathom and less, again deeper, immediately four fathom, then but three fathom, the sea going mightily and high. At last we recovered, God be thanked, in some despair, to sea room enough.

In this distress, we had vigilant eye unto the Admiral, whom we saw cast away, without power to give the men succour, neither could we espy any of the men that leaped overboard to save themselves, either in the same pinnace, or cock, or upon rafters, and such like

means presenting themselves to men in those extremities, for we desired to save the men by every possible means. But all in vain, sith God had determined their ruin; yet all that day, and part of the next, we beat up and down as near unto the wrack as was possible for us, looking out if by good hap we might espy any of them.

This was a heavy and grievous event, to lose at one blow our chief ship freighted with great provision, gathered together with much travail, care, long time, and difficulty; but more was the loss of our men, which perished to the number almost of a hundred souls. Amongst whom was drowned a learned man, a Hungarian[1], born in the city of *Buda*, called thereof *Budæus*, who, of piety and zeal to good attempts, adventured in this action, minding to record in the Latin tongue the gests and things worthy of remembrance, happening in this discovery, to the honour of our nation, the same being adorned with the eloquent style of this orator and rare poet of our time.

Here also perished our Saxon refiner and discoverer of inestimable riches, as it was left amongst some of us in undoubted hope. No less heavy was the loss of the captain, *Maurice Brown*, a virtuous, honest, and discreet gentleman, overseen only in liberty given late before to men that ought to have been restrained, who showed himself a man resolved, and never unprepared for death, as by his last act of this tragedy appeared, by report of them that escaped this wrack miraculously, as shall be hereafter declared. For when all hope was past of recovering the ship, and that men began to give over, and to save themselves, the captain was advised before to shift also for his life, by the pinnace

[1] Stephen Parmenius.

at the stern of the ship; but refusing that counsel, he would not give example with the first to leave the ship, but used all means to exhort his people not to despair, nor so to leave off their labour, choosing rather to die than to incur infamy by forsaking his charge, which then might be thought to have perished through his default, showing an ill precedent unto his men, by leaving the ship first himself. With this mind he mounted upon the highest deck, where he attended imminent death, and unavoidable; how long, I leave it to God, who withdraweth not his comfort from his servants at such times.

In the mean season, certain, to the number of fourteen persons, leaped into a small pinnace, the bigness of a Thames barge, which was made in the *Newfoundland*, cut off the rope wherewith it was towed, and committed themselves to God's mercy, amidst the storm, and rage of sea and winds, destitute of food, not so much as a drop of fresh water. The boat seeming overcharged in foul weather with company, *Edward Headly*, a valiant soldier, and well reputed of his company, preferring the greater to the lesser, thought better that some of them perished than all, made this motion, to cast lots, and them to be thrown overboard upon whom the lots fell, thereby to lighten the boat, which otherways seemed impossible to live, [and] offered himself with the first, content to take his adventure gladly: which nevertheless *Richard Clarke*, that was master of the Admiral, and one of this number, refused, advising to abide God's pleasure, who was able to save all, as well as a few. The boat was carried before the wind, continuing six days and nights in the ocean, and arrived at last with the men, alive, but weak, upon the *Newfoundland*, saving that the foresaid *Headly*, who had been late sick, and another called of us *Brazil*, of his travel into those

countries, died by the way, famished, and less able to hold out than those of better health. . . . Thus whom God delivered from drowning, he appointed to be famished; who doth give limits to man's times, and ordaineth the manner and circumstance of dying: whom, again, he will preserve, neither sea nor famine can confound. For those that arrived upon the *Newfoundland* were brought into *France* by certain Frenchmen, then being upon the coast.

After this heavy chance, we continued in beating the sea up and down, expecting when the weather would clear up that we might yet bear in with the land, which we judged not far off either the continent or some island. For we many times, and in sundry places found ground at 50, 45, 40 fathoms, and less. The ground coming upon our lead, being sometime oozy sand and other while a broad shell, with a little sand about it.

Our people lost courage daily after this ill success, the weather continuing thick and blustering, with increase of cold, winter drawing on, which took from them all hope of amendment, settling an assurance of worse weather to grow upon us every day. The leeside of us lay full of flats and dangers, inevitable if the wind blew hard at south. Some again doubted we were ingulfed in the Bay of *St. Lawrence*, the coast full of dangers, and unto us unknown. But above all, provision waxed scant, and hope of supply was gone with loss of our Admiral. Those in the frigate were already pinched with spare allowance, and want of clothes chiefly: whereupon they besought the General to return to *England*, before they all perished. And to them of the *Golden Hind* they made signs of distress, pointing to their mouths, and to their clothes thin and ragged: then immediately they also of the *Golden Hind*

grew to be of the same opinion and desire to return home.

The former reasons having also moved the General to have compassion of his poor men, in whom he saw no want of good will, but of means fit to perform the action they came for, [he] resolved upon retire: and calling the captain and master of the *Hind*, he yielded them many reasons, enforcing this unexpected return, withal protesting himself greatly satisfied with that he had seen and knew already, reiterating these words; *Be content, we have seen enough, and take no care of expense past: I will set you forth royally the next spring, if God send us safe home. Therefore I pray you let us no longer strive here, where we fight against the elements.* Omitting circumstance, how unwillingly the captain and master of the *Hind* condescended to this motion, his own company can testify; yet comforted with the General's promise of a speedy return at spring, and induced by other apparent reasons, proving an impossibility to accomplish the action at that time, it was concluded on all hands to retire.

So upon Saturday in the afternoon, the 31. of August, we changed our course, and returned back for *England*. At which very instant, even in winding about, there passed along between us and towards the land which we now forsook a very lion to our seeming, in shape, hair, and colour, not swimming after the manner of a beast by moving of his feet, but rather sliding upon the water with his whole body, excepting the legs, in sight, neither yet diving under, and again rising above the water, as the manner is of whales, dolphins, tunnies, porpoises, and all other fish: but confidently showing himself above water without hiding: notwithstanding, we presented ourselves in open view and gesture to amaze him, as all creatures will be commonly at a

sudden gaze and sight of men. Thus he passed along turning his head to and fro, yawing and gaping wide, with ugly demonstration of long teeth, and glaring eyes; and to bid us a farewell, coming right against the *Hind*, he sent forth a horrible voice, roaring or bellowing as doth a lion, which spectacle we all beheld so far as we were able to discern the same, as men prone to wonder at every strange thing, as this doubtless was, to see a lion in the ocean sea, or fish in shape of a lion. What opinion others had thereof, and chiefly the General himself, I forbear to deliver: but he took it for *bonum omen*, rejoicing that he was to war against such an enemy, if it were the devil. The wind was large for *England* at our return, but very high, and the sea rough, insomuch as the frigate, wherein the General went, was almost swallowed up.

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Monday in the afternoon we passed in sight of Cape *Race*, having made as much way in little more than two days and nights back again, as before we had done in eight days from Cape *Race* unto the place where our ship perished. Which hindrance thitherward, and speed back again, is to be imputed unto the swift current, as well as to the winds, which we had more large in our return. This Monday the General came aboard the *Hind*, to have the surgeon of the *Hind* to dress his foot, which he hurt by treading upon a nail: at which time we comforted each other with hope of hard success to be all past, and of the good to come. So agreeing to carry out lights always by night, that we might keep together, he departed into his frigate, being by no means to be entreated to tarry in the *Hind*, which had been more for his security. Immediately after followed a sharp storm, which we overpassed for that time, praised be God.

The weather fair, the General came aboard the *Hind*

again, to make merry together with the captain, master, and company, which was the last meeting, and continued there from morning until night. During which time there passed sundry discourses touching affairs past and to come, lamenting greatly the loss of his great ship, more of the men, but most of all his books and notes, and what else I know not, for which he was out of measure grieved, the same doubtless being some matter of more importance than his books, which I could not draw from him: yet by circumstance I gathered the same to be the ore which *Daniel* the Saxon had brought unto him in the *Newfoundland.* Whatsoever it was, the remembrance touched him so deep as, not able to contain himself, he beat his boy in great rage, even at the same time, so long after the miscarrying of the great ship, because upon a fair day, when we were becalmed upon the coast of the *Newfoundland,* near unto Cape *Race,* he sent his boy aboard the *Admiral* to fetch certain things: amongst which, this being chief, was yet forgotten and left behind. After which time he could never conveniently send again aboard the great ship, much less he doubted her ruin so near at hand.

Herein my opinion was better confirmed diversely, and by sundry conjectures, which maketh me have the greater hope of this rich mine. For whereas the General had never before good conceit of these north parts of the world, now his mind was wholly fixed upon the *Newfoundland.* And as before he refused not to grant assignments liberally to them that required the same into these north parts, now he became contrarily affected, refusing to make any so large grants, especially of *St. John's,* which certain English merchants made suit for, offering to employ their money and travail upon the same: yet neither by their own suit, nor of

others of his own company, whom he seemed willing to pleasure, it could be obtained. Also laying down his determination in the spring following for disposing of his voyage then to be re-attempted: he assigned the captain and master of the *Golden Hind* unto the south discovery, and reserved unto himself the north, affirming that this voyage had won his heart from the south, and that he was now become a northern man altogether.

Last, being demanded what means he had, at his arrival in *England*, to compass the charges of so great preparation as he intended to make the next spring, having determined upon two fleets, one for the south, another for the north; *Leave that to me*, he replied, *I will ask a penny of no man. I will bring good tidings unto her Majesty, who will be so gracious to lend me* £10,000; willing us therefore to be of good cheer; for *he did thank God*, he said, *with all his heart for that he had seen, the same being enough for us all, and that we needed not to seek any further.* And these last words he would often repeat, with demonstration of great fervency of mind, being himself very confident and settled in belief of inestimable good by this voyage; which the greater number of his followers nevertheless mistrusted altogether, not being made partakers of those secrets, which the General kept unto himself. Yet all of them that are living may be witnesses of his words and protestations, which sparingly I have delivered.

Leaving the issue of this good hope unto God, who knoweth the truth only, and can at His good pleasure bring the same to light, I will hasten to the end of this tragedy, which must be knit up in the person of our General. And as it was God's ordinance upon him, even so the vehement persuasion and entreaty of his friends could nothing avail to divert him of a wilful resolution of going through in his frigate; which was

overcharged upon the decks with fights, nettings, and small artillery, too cumbersome for so small a boat that was to pass through the ocean sea at that season of the year, when by course we might expect much storm of foul weather. Whereof, indeed, we had enough.

But when he was entreated by the captain, master, and other his well-willers of the *Hind* not to venture in the frigate, this was his answer: *I will not forsake my little company going homeward, with whom I have passed so many storms and perils.* And in very truth he was urged to be so over hard by hard reports given of him that he was afraid of the sea; albeit this was rather rashness than advised resolution, to prefer the wind of a vain report to the weight of his own life. Seeing he would not bend to reason, he had provision out of the *Hind*, such as was wanting aboard his frigate. And so we committed him to God's protection, and set him aboard his pinnace, we being more than 300 leagues onward of our way home.

By that time we had brought the Islands of *Azores* south of us; yet we then keeping much to the north, until we had got into the height and elevation of *England*, we met with very foul weather and terrible seas, breaking short and high, pyramid-wise. The reason whereof seemed to proceed either of hilly grounds high and low within the sea, as we see hills and vales upon the land, upon which the seas do mount and fall, or else the cause proceedeth of diversity of winds, shifting often in sundry points, all which having power to move the great ocean, which again is not presently settled, so many seas do encounter together, as there had been diversity of winds. Howsoever it cometh to pass, men which all their lifetime had occupied the sea never saw more outrageous seas. We had also upon our mainyard an apparition of a little fire by night,

which seamen do call *Castor* and *Pollux*. But we had only one, which they take an evil sign of more tempest; the same is usual in storms.

Monday, the 9. of September, in the afternoon, the frigate was near cast away, oppressed by waves, yet at that time recovered; and giving forth signs of joy, the General, sitting abaft with a book in his hand, cried out to us in the *Hind*, so oft as we did approach within hearing, *We are as near to heaven by sea as by land!* Reiterating the same speech, well beseeming a soldier, resolute in Jesus Christ, as I can testify he was.

The same Monday night, about twelve of the clock, or not long after, the frigate being ahead of us in the *Golden Hind*, suddenly her lights were out, whereof as it were in a moment we lost the sight, and withal our watch cried *the General was cast away*, which was too true. For in that moment the frigate was devoured and swallowed up of the sea. Yet still we looked out all that night, and ever after until we arrived upon the coast of *England*; omitting no small sail at sea, unto which we gave not the tokens between us agreed upon to have perfect knowledge of each other, if we should at any time be separated.

In great torment of weather and peril of drowning it pleased God to send safe home the *Golden Hind*, which arrived in *Falmouth* the 22. of September, being Sunday, not without as great danger escaped in a flaw coming from the south-east, with such thick mist that we could not discern land to put in right with the haven. From *Falmouth* we went to *Dartmouth*, and lay there at anchor before the Range, while the captain went aland to enquire if there had been any news of the frigate, which, sailing well, might happily have been before us; also to certify Sir *John Gilbert*, brother unto the General, of our hard success, whom the captain desired,

while his men were yet aboard him, and were witnesses of all occurrences in that voyage, it might please him to take the examination of every person particularly, in discharge of his and their faithful endeavour. Sir *John Gilbert* refused so to do, holding himself satisfied with report made by the captain, and not altogether de spairing of his brother's safety, offered friendship and courtesy to the captain and his company, requiring to have his bark brought into the harbour; in furtherance whereof a boat was sent to help to tow her in.

Nevertheless, when the captain returned aboard his ship, he found his men bent to depart every man to his home; and then the wind serving to proceed higher upon the coast, they demanded money to carry them home, some to *London*, others to *Harwich*, and elsewhere, if the barque should be carried into *Dartmouth* and they discharged so far from home, or else to take benefit of the wind, then serving to draw nearer home, which should be a less charge unto the captain, and great ease unto the men, having else far to go. Reason accompanied with necessity persuaded the captain, who sent his lawful excuse and cause of this sudden departure unto Sir *John Gilbert*, by the boat of *Dartmouth*, and from thence the *Golden Hind* departed and took harbour at *Weymouth*. All the men tired with the tediousness of so unprofitable a voyage to their seeming, in which their long expense of time, much toil and labour, hard diet, and continual hazard of life was unrecompensed; their captain nevertheless by his great charges impaired greatly thereby, yet comforted in the goodness of God, and His undoubted providence following him in all that voyage, as it doth always those at other times whosoever have confidence in Him alone. Yet have we more near feeling and perseverance of His powerful hand and protection when God doth bring us together with others

into one same peril, in which He leaveth them and delivereth us, making us thereby the beholders, but not partakers, of their ruin. Even so, amongst very many difficulties, discontentments, mutinies, conspiracies, sicknesses, mortality, spoilings, and wracks by sea, which were afflictions more than in so small a fleet or so short a time may be supposed, albeit true in every particularity, as partly by the former relation may be collected, and some I suppressed with silence for their sakes living, it pleased God to support this company, of which only one man died of a malady inveterate, and long infested, the rest kept together in reasonable contentment and concord, beginning, continuing, and ending the voyage, which none else did accomplish, either not pleased with the action, or impatient of wants, or prevented by death.

Thus have I delivered the contents of the enterprise and last action of Sir *Humfrey Gilbert*, Knight, faithfully, for so much as I thought meet to be published; wherein may always appear, though he be extinguished, some sparks of his virtues, he remaining firm and resolute in a purpose by all pretence honest and godly, as was this, to discover, possess, and to reduce unto the service of God and Christian piety those remote and heathen countries of *America* not actually possessed by Christians, and most rightly appertaining unto the crown of *England*: unto the which as his zeal deserveth high commendation, even so he may justly be taxed of temerity, and presumption rather, in two respects. First, when yet there was only probability, not a certain and determinate place of habitation selected, neither any demonstration of commodity there *in esse*, to induce his followers; nevertheless, he both was too prodigal of his own patrimony and too careless of other men's expenses to employ both his and their substance upon

a ground imagined good. The which falling, very like his associates were promised, and made it their best reckoning, to be salved some other way, which pleased not God to prosper in his first and great preparation. Secondly, when by his former preparation he was enfeebled of ability and credit to perform his designments, as it were impatient to abide in expectation better opportunity, and means which God might raise, he thrust himself again into the action, for which he was not fit, presuming the cause pretended on God's behalf would carry him to the desired end. Into which having thus made re-entry, he could not yield again to withdraw, though he saw no encouragement to proceed; lest his credit, foiled in his first attempt, in a second should utterly be disgraced. Between extremities he made a right adventure, putting all to God and good fortune; and, which was worst, refused not to entertain every person and means whatsoever, to furnish out this expedition, the success whereof hath been declared.

But such is the infinite bounty of God, who from every evil deriveth good. For besides that fruit may grow in time of our travelling into those north-west lands, the crosses, turmoils, and afflictions, both in the preparation and execution of this voyage, did correct the intemperate humours which before we noted to be in this gentleman, and made unsavoury and less delightful his other manifold virtues. Then as he was refined, and made nearer drawing unto the image of God, so it pleased the Divine will to resume him unto Himself, whither both his and every other high and noble mind have always aspired.

ADDITIONAL NOTES

Page xii, line 1. Note that John Cabot, who 'first conducted English sailors to the shores of America,' in 1497, though a Venetian citizen by adoption (from March 28, 1476), was a Genoese by birth.

Page 198, line 22. *Mayo*, i. e. Majo, one of the easternmost of the Cape Verdes.

Page 208, line last but two. *Santiago*, here used for Valparaiso : see p. 209, line 2.

Page 210, line 13. *Tarapaca*, now Iquique, the capital of Tarapaca province, in 20° 12′ 30″ S. lat., on the coast of Chili.

Page 222, line 4. *Cloth of Calicut*, i. e. calico, named from the great Indian port, like 'muslins' from Mosul, 'satin' from Zayton in China, &c.

Page 224, line 10. *Cordovan skin*, i. e. the famous Cordovan leather.

Page 268, last line. *Virginia* : this 'inhabitation' was really in what is now North Carolina : see next note.

Page 269, lines 24, 25. *Island... Roanoac*, i.e. the modern Roanoke, in the north-eastern part of North Carolina (Dare County), 145 miles E. of Raleigh, at the junction of Albemarle Sound with Pamlico Sound : by Albemarle Sound the Roanoke river, rising in Virginia and passing through the north-eastern region of North Carolina, reaches the sea.

Page 278, lines 12, 13. *John Cabot and Sebastian his son* : the first-class evidence merely shows us that *John* Cabot, in 1497 and 1498, twice visited North American lands in the service of the English crown, probably making the first discovery (since the Northmen of A.D. 1000–6) of the North American continent. It is only from secondary authorities that we have the tradition of Cabot's having coasted all the eastern shore line of North America from the 'Cape of Florida' to Newfoundland Island. Of Sebastian at this time we merely know that he was associated with the first grant of Henry VII to 'John Cabotto' in 1496 : we have no authority for saying positively that *in these years* he crossed the Atlantic at all. Within the fifteenth century, Sebastian Cabot *minus* John Cabot = 0.

Page 278, lines 15, 16. *Islands we now call the Newfoundland*, i. e. not our Newfoundland only, but the neighbouring lands also, Cape Breton Island, Nova Scotia, &c.

At the same time we must notice (1) that the expression of the text shows the beginning of the tendency to the modern restriction of the term *Newfoundland*; and (2) that the early notions of our Newfoundland island were singularly mistaken, splitting it up into a perfect archipelago, as we may see it on the so-called 'Sebastian Cabot' map of 1544.

Page 293, line 21. *Baccalaos*: this word is commonly applied in John Cabot's own time and in the early sixteenth century to the whole of the 'New-found' north-western regions or 'Cod Fish Country.'

Page 293, line 22. *Cape St. Francis*, &c. All these localities (like Placentia Bay, p. 302) are in the extreme south-east of our Newfoundland Island, near St. John (see p. 295, line 10).

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OXFORD: PRINTED AT THE CLARENDON PRESS BY HORACE HART, M.A.